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They are well provided with bows and arrows. They have only one horse. Snow is so deep, horses perish for want of food. In winter, they live on roots. In summer on antelope and fish.

December 1st. 30 Clammite Indians paid us a visit: fine men in good condition, but wretchedly clad. They say the river to the ocean is far distant and beaver they do not know. They say the Indians become more numerous as we advance to the ocean. . . . .

Tuesday 6th. Reached Indian village of five huts, but large size square made of earth flat on top the door at the top a defence against arrows but not balls. 200 of them collected about our camp and traded 4 days. The 2 chiefs delivered traps lost by Mr. McDonald last year with 8 beaver. This is much in favor of their honesty. On our march this day, we passed the camps from wh. Mr. McDonald turned back last year and are consequently strangers to the country in advance.

Thursday 8th. About 300 Indians around our camp. We advanced 6 miles south following the river south. I estimate the Clammitte nation 250 men.

Monday 12th. Reached the lake [Klamath lake?] 1½ × 15 miles well wooded with maple and hazel; course S.

The second visit on record is that of Frémont, who reached the northern shore of Klamath marsh on December 10, 1843. He saw smoke at what appeared to be the middle of the marsh and along the opposite shore. An unoccupied northern shore agrees with my own information. The following day he visited the village "in the middle of the lake (or savannah)," which appears to be one of those at the outlet of the marsh.

The huts were grouped together on the bank of the [Klamath] river, which, from being spread out in a shallow marsh at the upper end of the lake, was collected here into a single stream. They were large round huts, perhaps 20 feet in diameter, with rounded tops, on which was the door by which they descended into the interior. Within, they were supported by posts and beams.

Almost like plants, these people seem to have adapted themselves to the soil, and to growing on what the immediate locality afforded. Their only subsistence at this time appeared to be a small fish, great quantities of which, that had been smoked and dried, were suspended on strings about the lodge. Heaps of straw were lying around; and their residence in the midst of grass and rushes had taught them a peculiar skill in converting this material to useful purposes. Their shoes were made of straw or grass, which seemed well adapted for a snowy country; and the women wore on their head a closely woven basket, which made a very good cap. Among other things, were parti-colored mats about four feet square, which we purchased to lay on the snow under our blankets, and to use for table cloths.

Numbers of singular-looking dogs, resembling wolves, were sitting on the tops of the huts. . . . .

They made us comprehend that they were at war with the people who lived to the southward and to the eastward; but I could obtain from them no certain information. . . . .

This morning the camp was thronged with Tlamath Indians from the southeastern shore of the lake. . . . .

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Frémont also remarked on the scarcity of their horses.[22]

Frémont reached Klamath lake again May 6, 1846. He commented on the outlet, Link river, "this is a great fishing station for the Indians." His statement on the distribution of their settlements coincides with my information.

> They have fixed habitations around the shores of the lake, particularly at the outlet and inlet [Williamson river], and along the inlet up to the swamp meadow [Klamath marsh], where I met the Tlamaths in the winter of '43-'44, and where we narrowly escaped disaster. . . . . The Indians made me understand that there was another large river [Williamson river] which came from the north and flowed into the lake at the northern end, and that the principal village was at its mouth, where also they caught many fish.

Frémont's party made a circuit of the lake. It is curious that he does not mention the settlements about Pelican lake on the western side, which he could hardly have avoided. On the other hand it is not clear how closely his memoirs follow his diary. Attacked while on the western side, his party reciprocated by raiding a village on the opposite side, perhaps one of those on Williamson river just above the present highway bridge.

> Behind the sage-bushes where they had taken their stand every Indian had spread his arrows on the ground in fan-like shape, so that they would be ready to his hand. . . . . Quantities of fish were drying, spread on scaffolds, or hung up on frames. The huts, which were made of tall rushes and willows, like those on the savannah above [Klamath marsh], were set on fire, and the fish and scaffolds were all destroyed.[23]

The first invaders remembered by the Klamath came from the north about 1835. The stories about them have now a legendary flavor. The first group was mounted; the Klamath dubbed them mpē'tkoŋks (from mětc!a', to pack about) from their roving habits. An alternative name, pásai'ūks (French-Canadian in Chinook jargon), more surely identifies them. During their brief stay at the mouth of Williamson river they bought fat dogs of the Klamath, which to the latter's amazement, they ate. For these they gave buttons and metal disks with a central perforation (wika'lkal).

Almost as early was a white contingent moving northward on the west side of Klamath lake. The Indians watched them unseen. They were impressed with the horses, axes, and the food of the whites.

[22] Frémont, Narrative, 122.

[23] Frémont, Memoirs, 483, 484, 494.

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When the latter broke camp they left behind a little flour, which the Indians carried home and divided. They rubbed it on their palms and smeared their faces.[24]

Other early whites came from the southeast on horseback. This marked the beginning of the great migration by way of the Modoc country to the Pacific slope. On the whole the Klamath came off remarkably well in their relations with the whites. The full brunt of immigration was borne by Modoc and Pit River peoples. The Klamath were spared the Oregon wars of the fifties, which all but annihilated the tribes of western Oregon and northern California.[25] The earliest white settlements in the neighborhood were about the present Jacksonville, Medford, and Ashland. The first white settlement within Klamath territory was near the village of kowa'edi at the northern end of the lake. This was about 1860–65, hence may have reference to the first agency established there. Subsequent relations have been on the whole quite amicable. The Klamath took no part in the Modoc war of 1872–73.

Habitat

The territory of the Klamath is on the high plateau of eastern Oregon, in the shallow basin wherein lies the group of lakes that give rise to Klamath river. The southern half of this basin about lower Klamath and Tule lakes is Modoc territory, extending southward across the lava beds in the direction of Pit river. The northern half, which lies against the Cascade range, is the home of the Klamath.

The Klamath properly reside on Klamath lake (or as it was formerly known, upper or middle Klamath lake), on Klamath marsh, and on Williamson river, which connects them. At least, most of the permanent winter settlements are on these three waters, with a scattering on their tributaries. Summer camps are established over a much wider territory, as far, it would seem, as the natural limits of this drainage area.

[24] Salt was equally unknown to them at this time.

[25] A somewhat obscure account was given me of the inclusion of Klamath in the great round-up of western Oregon Indians on Siletz (?) reservation in the fifties. These had been wintering at the Dalles and were herded with the Indians there. The Upland Takelma and Molala were penned in together and fed by the soldiers. Some died every day; the Klamath suspected that they were poisoned. The Klamath were kept apart, and, thanks to the strenuous arguments of their chief Lalc'ka, were not only freed but supplied with beef and an escort of soldiery to conduct them back to their own country.

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101 East of the Cascade mountains, and south of the 44th parallel, is a country
131 not attached particularly to any agency. That portion at the eastern base of this range, extending twenty-five or thirty miles east, and south to the California line, is the country of the Klamath Indians.[26]

This is essentially correct although the boundary might better be set somewhat farther south to exclude the headwaters of the Deschutes, in earlier times the home of Sahaptin peoples. The country north of Klamath marsh is considered too open and cold for settlement. On the eastern border are a series of lakes (Silver, Summer, Abert, Goose) and rims which give on the desert to the east. There are Northern Paiute settlements on the eastern sides of Summer and Goose lakes, perhaps those of the Walpahpas mentioned by Meacham.

• 648 The meeting with the Klamath and Snakes was one of interest to all parties, from the fact that they had been enemies, and the chiefs had not met in person since peace was restored. Living in the country intervening [presumably Summer to Goose lakes] was a small tribe of Wal-pah-pas, who are half Snake and half Klamath. They were mediators, though sometimes fighting on alternate sides, as interest or affront gave occasion.[27]

101 Sycan river, Sycan *marsh, and Yamsay* mountain are summer
131 resorts of the Klamath, who had their easternmost settlement (hledle-
221 luĕ'luke) somewhere west of Gearhart mountain. Chewaucan marsh, between Summer and Abert lakes, was probably also visited, although I was not told so. Its name is Klamath, probably tcuwa'kăn, arrowhead place, derived from the abundance of arrowhead or wappatoo roots (tcuwa') gathered there.[28]

SETTLEMENTS

221 The occupation of this territory is determined by the manner of life. The fixed villages are the winter residences to which people return year after year. Early spring finds them leaving for favorable fishing stations where there are successive fish runs. Through the summer they move to the prairies to gather edible roots and berries or to the mountain and desert to hunt. During most of this time families are widely scattered and the winter villages quite deserted, but with the ripening of pond lily seeds in the marshes during August [262] and September they again congregate. The pond lilies grow in enormous quantities, the seeds (wo'kas) constituting a staple second only

in importance to fish.

[26] Palmer in Report, Comm. Indian Affairs, 302, 1854.
[27] Meacham, Wigwam and War-path, 222.
[28] Coville, Notes, 90.

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
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WARFARE AND FEUDS

721 Klamath warfare is deserving of the name in contrast to the conflicts of the northern Californian tribes. Raids are carried into foreign parts for plunder, slaves, and revenge, and received in turn. No single town or tribelet is alone concerned: warriors are drawn [171] from the Klamath at large. This is in marked contrast to the Yurok and their neighbors, e.g., whose foreign wars seem but an extension of the private quarrels that set town against town, and in which the large body of Yurok may remain neutral. Warfare is here not mere retaliation, murder for murder, but is engendered by patriotic motive and tangible benefits.

There can be little doubt that the Klamath attitude is due to their contact with tribes of warlike habit to the north and east. Raids from that direction had to be met and countered. The interesting circumstance is that the Pit river people were under a similar compulsion but apparently made no effort to cope with the raids by reciprocating. So far as I can learn they never ventured against the Klamath despite their equivalence or even superiority of numbers. The cause for the difference seems to be that the Klamath had reason to raid; slaves and [437] plunder were important to them. There was a market for these [231] articles at the Dalles with much-coveted horses to be had in return. [619] The Achomawi had no such outlet. I would not underestimate the difference in tribal solidarity, which may have been entirely lacking among the Achomawi, but the suggestion is that such solidarity may in this instance be a function of a common cause against a common enemy. The Klamath had their share of internecine warfare.

• 648 Besides the close bond with the Modoc, normally friendly relations are maintained with the Molala across the Cascades, the Wătă'nkni (Warm Springs people) of the Deschutes, and the Wishram-Wasco 648 at the Dalles. Warfare is directed toward all other directions. Raids are exchanged with the Shasta several days' journey down the Kla- 721 math river, the Upland Takelma on the Rogue river, and the Northern [231] Paiute (Snake) of the desert to the east. The Klamath fight the Kalapuya and take horses from the Warm Springs Indians.[88] Since horses were obtained by them, raids may be expected of the Ya'mŏkni two hundred or more miles away; northerners generically, but in this

[88] Gatschet, 1:18.

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
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connection the Sahaptins of the Columbia and the Cayuse seem meant.[36] Both Ya'mökni and Shasta made slaves among the Klamath. How infrequent were these raids may be judged by the circumstance that my informants independently mentioned the half-dozen recorded years ago by Gatschet, and no others.

The Pit river people, possibly only the Achomawi, may alone be raided with impunity. Reciprocity on their part would lead them only into the intervening territory of the hostile Modoc, who may well have served the Klamath as a buffer. For their part the Klamath were stimulated by the lucrative traffic in slaves established with the Columbia river tribes, and the majority of captives were by all accounts Pit river people. Gatschet writes of these raids as a regular occurrence. "In April and May the Klamath Lakes and Modocs would surround the camps, kill the men, and abduct the women and children to their homes, or sell them into slavery at the international bartering place at The Dalles"; and again, "the Lake men enslaved many every spring time."[37] To be sure, consonant with Kroeber's view,[38] raiding was undoubtedly accelerated by the appearance of the horse in the north. Contacts were then more rapid, and the beast itself became an important and desirable article to possess. But there can be no doubt that the practice of taking slaves on Pit river was already established. This is not only implied in the informants' statements, but it must be kept in mind that slaves were an important element in the society of the Wishram, Wasco, and their down-river neighbors. This means that the Klamath were not only turning to slave-taking as a lucrative traffic, but that slave-holding as indicative of social distinction was becoming their habit by imitation.[39]

How frequently the Klamath made war as a whole is unknown. It seems doubtful that concerted action was frequent. Perhaps large-

[36] Henry Renier, an old settler, told me of such a raid up the Deschutes about 1876.

[37] *Op. cit.*, 1:lix, 19.

[38] Handbook, 319.

[39] While the Klamath do not distinguish among the Pit river peoples raided, Kniffen's recent account of the Achomawi (Achomawi Geography) makes it clear that Klamath and Modoc descended most frequently on Achomawi settlements north of the Pit and also crossed it to Atsugewi territory in Hat Creek and Dixie valleys. The Achomawi proper about Fall river were subject to continual attack; the Hewisedawi, south of Goose lake, and the Astariwawi, near them on the Pit, bore the brunt. The Atsugewi divisions, Atsuge (Hat creek) and Aporige (Dixie valley), were also freely raided. The Atwamsini, on the middle Pit, and the Kosalektawi, on the extreme headwaters of the river, were reached much less frequently. The other groups of Achomawi were free from attack probably by reason of their inaccessibility; the Ilmawi, Itsatawi, and Madesi at the western end of their range, and the Hammawi on the extreme east.

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(ca. 1860-1900) NR 10 Klamath NR 10
Northern Paiute NR 13

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The topography directs Shasta attacks against southern settlements. Coming by the open country along the Klamath river, they attack iwau'wŏnɛ at Klamath Falls, sometimes swimming the river there. Or they cross by the little island to the south to surprise the settlement on the east bank. Many years ago a large body of Ya'mŏkkni, northerners, descended on the Klamath on Sycan marsh in the northeastern corner of their territory. These may have been marauding bands of Shoshoni and Bannock, fought by the soldiery of Fort Klamath in the summer of 1864.[43] Henry Renier, an old settler, told me of Indians coming south about 1876 or earlier by way of the Warm Springs country from the Snake river range east of Lewiston, Idaho.

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Northern Paiute scouts use various calls in order to keep contact with one another, imitating the crow by day, coyote in the evening, and owls at night; unlike Klamath scouts. When these are heard, women and children take to canoes, staying on the water until morning. The screech owl is thought to call, kŏkɛdĕ'l skiu'ki'u, who sent me? A thrush (sko''lĕ) names who is coming, wl'mpis zge'pkwa, they are coming.

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Klamath hunting in the Cascades might meet Upland Takelma from across the range. On one occasion (perhaps about 1850) a party of five or six was wiped out with the exception of a boy who made his way at night, arriving footsore at Klamath marsh. Those who fetched the bodies for cremation found that the Takelma had taken scalps, hands, and feet as trophies. Two of those killed were brothers to the maternal grandfather of my informant, Coley. A wife of this grandfather was an Upland Takelma woman, perhaps a slave, who was a sister to the Upland Takelma chief Tĕktŏ'kli 'red). They killed her in revenge. She had been living among them at the marsh for years but had no children. The reciprocal raid can be reconstructed from Gatschet's information[44] and my own. The expedition was undertaken at the call of Lxlc'ks, the most prominent ă'ukckni chief and a distant relative of Coley's grandfather. Men of all the tribelets took part. Crossing the mountains on foot, they found the Takelma encamped in Molala territory at the head of Rogue river. They attacked as the Takelma rose at dawn, scalping many and carrying off women and children. Among those killed was Tĕktŏ'kli, whose hands and heart they took. After the man was shot, Lxlc'ks lanced him through the throat. Lxlc'ks invited all the Klamath to a huge scalp dance at Klamath marsh. During the dances a wife of Coley's grandfather danced about with the heart in her teeth. The captives were dragged by their arms and forced to dance close to the fire.

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A preparatory performance, called nl'kĕba, is an indispensable preliminary to a raiding party. It can hardly be styled a war dance,

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[43] Gatschet, 1:lxii.

[44] *Op. cit.*, 1:16.

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Shasta NS21

grown up among the Klamath, Klamath in speech and custom, were not tempted to begin life anew elsewhere. Some, at least, had considerable prestige. Pit River Charley, for instance, a freed slave, returned from his people in 1873 with novel rites which were engrafted on the Ghost dance then newly come to the Klamath.[63]

Trade is probably of no great consequence within the tribe although it figures intertribally. Contacts were few and frequently unfriendly until after the coming of the whites. The exception is the neighboring Modoc groups; others are too distant. Winters are too severe for travel and trade, but summers find the Warm Springs people in residence with the Klamath. These similarly set out for Warm Springs and the Dalles when the grass begins to grow, camping there in the open during the summer, and building mat-covered structures of earth-lodge shape (wakĕ'ploks) if they stay through the winter. Slaves, Pit River bows, and beads are taken there to trade for horses, blankets, buffalo skins, parfleches, beads (probably dentalium shells), dried salmon, and lampreys.[64] Two slave children are valued at five horses, several buffalo skins, and some beads. This is not far from the values recorded by Taylor in 1859; one woman was worth five or six horses, a boy one horse.[64]

The Molala are also visitors and are met on the headwaters of the Rogue west of Crater lake. From them buckskins are obtained for pond-lily seed and beads. Relations with the Shasta have not always been unfriendly; some of the Klamath Falls group and Modoc married with them, possibly only since the white advent. The nearest Shasta settlements at Shovel and Jennie creeks can be reached afoot several days' journey down the Klamath. Laik'ĕlmi is a jointly occupied fishing site somewhat upstream but below the Klamath canyon. Skins and skin blankets are traded for Shasta beads. Dixon states that Shasta trade with the Klamath is slight.[65]

In the period 1860–70 the few Shasta remaining in their territory congregated on the lower Shasta river and near the frontier town, Yreka. They were reached by crossing the Black Mountain range. At that time this was a much mixed group, principally half-breeds. My informant Tom Lang, taken there as a youngster, remarked how he was afraid of their highly tattooed faces.

Intercourse and marriage went on freely with the Modoc. They were visited on Tule and Lower Klamath lakes, and joined for the fishing on Lost River near Olene.

[63] Spier, Ghost Dance of 1870, 45, 51.
[64] Cf. Gatschet, 1:93; 2:436.
[64] *Op. cit.*, 1:lx.
[65] The Shasta, 436.

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K [786] [177]
K 439 221 361
K 439 436 567
K 648 [437]
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K 648 [226] [437]
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S [302]
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(ca. 1860-1900) NR 10 Klamath NR 10

fishing on Lost river near Olene. A shallow bowl-shaped twined basket, called ḳ!we'lu, is obtained from the Modoc, who in turn trade it from Pit river. There is no direct trade with the latter people.

Horses were first acquired in any number about 1840. They had been previously acquainted with them in the hands of whites who crossed their country about this time; dates are uncertain. Ogden in 1826 remarked on a single horse seen as though it was a rarity among them.[66] The first sources were Warm Springs and perhaps some group immediately east of that place. These were obtained by chiefs; others were too poor in slaves to buy them. The name given the new animal follows the common habit, wa'tcag from wate, dog. Saddles (pă'olăs) were first made of antelope hide. Here, as in the Plains, horses served as a stimulator of contacts, especially with the Columbia river peoples. As I have remarked, their introduction seems responsible for the rapid increase in wealth, the flow of northern ideas concerning social stratification, importance of wealth and of slave-holding, Plains costume, and those predatory habits which furnished the withal to maintain the new status.

Buffalo (yo'ho) skins are obtained at second hand; the Klamath know that their origin is east of the Umatilla, that is, in Idaho. Buffalo never ranged into this country, although they reached the Harney Lake district. But very few skins ever make their way into Klamath hands; only men with many slaves can afford them. They are wanted to cover a gambler's hands in the stick game, an opportunity for ostentation.

Parfleches (sḳŏ'psŏli, folded up) are traded from Warm Springs people and Sahaptins beyond them on the Columbia. They are not made by Klamath.

Incidentally, many older people have fluent command of Chinook jargon. They, or somewhat doubtfully the Modoc, are the southernmost people with whom this trade jargon is current. Kroeber remarks on the fragments in use by Yuki and Shasta.[67] Naturally enough, it served a purpose with the Columbia river peoples alone and was of but small value with the whites coming from California.

It is interesting to know what constituted wealth among the Klamath, but with the old life now gone it is difficult to get direct evidence. However, certain things alone were spoken of when describing

[66] Elliott, Ogden Journals, 210.

[67] Handbook, 308, 319.

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177 At least one minor element, assigned by tradition to this period,
535 was derived from another direction; the notched rattle used in war
534 and scalp dances in imitation of the Upland Takelma.

Direct contact was opened with the Upper Chinook at the Dalles
174 only after 1800. By this time Snake raids had dispossessed the
Sahaptins of central eastern Oregon, driven them north of the
• 648 Columbia, and cleared the south bank of that stream by scattering
Cayuse-Molala east and west. Direct contact quite across Oregon
brought the Klamath in touch with the great trading center at the
Dalles and revealed to them the superior and stimulating cultures of
the Chinookan tribes and the semi-Plains groups from above on the
Columbia.

174 The whole rise of the chiefs, the growth of social stratification
177 based on wealth, the concern with slave-holding, all seem to date from
this time. Wealth began to be considerable: its form was new: horses
[556] and slaves. Chiefs grew in wealth and prominence over shamans.
[622] The basis of their selection changed in some degree from war to wealth.
[721] Slave-raiding to the south increased in frequency: the booty was
carried to Warm Springs and the Dalles.

It is doubtful if the material differences in wealth and slave-
[567] holding existed prior to 1800. Shamans were dominant over chiefs
and were but slightly more wealthy than the majority. The historic
174 tribal subdivisions were in existence, the village groups and their dis-
177 tribution established, and the basic social relations, as reflected in kin-
ship terminology for example, much as we know them. Marriage may
[756] well have been by purchase, but possibly without the pseudo-potlatch
[622] custom of reciprocal visiting. Material culture was prevailingly
[619] southern Plateau in aspect, and religious practices, while more north
Californian, had already some impress of the Northwest Coast.

[583] Is there a Lutuamian culture province? I am doubtful. Kroeber
has somewhat hesitatingly posited one, set off by a certain distinctive-
101 ness from phrasing of Northwest Coast culture found localized on
105 the lower Klamath river, and favoring rather the Basin and Plateau,
to which the Klamath country lies open.

114 "The Lutuamian culture or subculture, as represented by the
Klamath and Modoc, corresponds well with this setting. It reveals
some specializations, such as its wokas and tule industries, that are
obviously founded on peculiar environment. There are some north-
western influences, but rather vague ones. The basis of the culture
is perhaps central Californian, with certainly some Great Basin or

DOO AE: 3-6 players. WT: 10+. WS: 4-5. MM: 3-4. MV: 5, in women's game; 3, in men's.

[526] [648] 2201. Often, but not always. Mo: Play Kl often. Concerning 1 such intertribal match between women, informant related following: "Before the [Modoc] war, the Mo and Kl were camping on opposite sides of Lost River, fishing. The Mo and Kl women played shinny; the Mo won, but the Kl women, instead of paying [their gambling debt] jumped in Lost River and ran home. But the Mo women jumped in the river after them, and followed them into camp."

2202. Mo: See note 2201. MV: At spring celebration women play first shinny game of year; no betting on this first game, which opens season for games of all descriptions. Season for games closes in November; "after that everything quiets down for winter."

2203. AW: In men's game. WT, MM: 1 man acts as referee. WT: "Big, strong man, who can stop fights between players." MF, NF: 2 male referees for game.

Ball race; hoop-and-pole.--

2204. For 3 groups, AW, AE, and MM, 2 types of ball races entered in this section. When element refers to one type only, note indicates which type. All other entries refer to both types. AW, AE: Type (1), single ball race. Type (2), 2-ball race. Informant ignorant of source of introduction of types (1) and (2), but positive they are both "half-breed" (post-White) races. WT: Informant denied any ball races, but WS informant said he had seen ball races held at Hayfork, in WT area, and that they were of recent introduction. WS: Ball races learned from Round Valley Reservation group, about 60 years ago. They were "played at Hayfork first [by] WS group learned to play." Race is somewhat similar to WS form of women's shinny game (see note 2170) but played by men only, with 2 balls. MM: Type (1), 2-ball game. Type (2), "wrestling football," single ball.

2205-2207. MM: Refers to 2-ball game (see note 2204).

2208. AW: Refers to single-ball game. MM: Refers to 2-ball race. See note 2204.

2209. AW, MM: Refers to 2-ball race (see note 2204).

2210-2212. AW, AE: Refers to 2-ball race. MM: Refers to single ball, wrestling football. See note 2204.

2213, 2215a. AW, AE, MM: Refers to 2-ball race (see note 2204).

2219. MM: Refers to wrestling football (see note 2204).

2222. AW, AE, MM: Refers to single-ball race (see note 2204).

2225. AE: 6 on side, in 2-ball race; 4 on side, single-ball race. MM: 4 on side, 2-ball race; 2 on side, single-ball race (see note 2204). NM: 2 men or 3 women.

2228. MM: 2-ball game.

WAR

Nature and Causes

Nature of warfare; motivation.--

000 2770. SW: Four Shasta groups "didn't have much trouble among themselves," but chiefly fought Mo and Wintu. Kammatwa (see note 282) raids against SW also mentioned, but Shasta "didn't fight much against Karuk or the other [Klamath] River tribes." Intertribally, wars chiefly for revenge; any intratribal fights usually over women. At: Mo stole young girls from At, but "latter never went up and fought the Mo; 2 captive women the Mo took managed to escape and return to Fall River (Achomawi territory) where they married Fall River men." Informant did remember a raid by Fall River men, who came down and took roots and baskets from At. Also Kl came down once and stole some women. "Shasta never came over to Hat Creek (At), but the Wintun came over once and killed a Hat Creek man; then men from all the Hat Creek towns went to war." Fighting in this war amounted to little, however (see note 2798), and on the whole At made few offensive raids. AW: Subject to Mo raids; unfriendly toward Mo. Intermarried with, friendly toward Okwanuchu (ye·tatwa) at McCloud. "Afraid of Noze Indians, [N Yana, ti'-saiči, salt people, at Round Mountain]; fought with them." Not much intercourse between AW and N Paiute (Surprise Valley); latter "were friendlier with the AE around Likely." "Not very friendly with the 'Shaverhead' [At] tribe." "Not very friendly with Wintun. The people at Big Bend (Madesi Achomawi) were friendly with the Wintun." AW territory sometimes invaded by Shasta; AW pursued them, fought them. AE: Mainly fought with Kl, Mo, Paiute; the Wintun and Shasta were too far away. WT: Fought Karuk, Yurok, Hupa ("Klamath Indians") and Yuki (Round Valley Indians); latter were "real mean." On friendly terms with Chimariko; intermarried with them. WM: Fought Central Yana; on friendly terms with Madesi Achomawi and N Yana of Big Bend, Montgomery Creek. MM: Fought Washo (čaisum); occasionally fought Sacramento Valley Maidu (taiyim) and people around Mooretown (MF), but after fight, "then they were friends again pretty quick." At of Hat Creek (kom maidum, snow people) and MM friendly; never fought each other; "they were good friends, just like 1 tribe together." Paiute, Wintu, Shasta too distant to engage in any fights with MM. NF: Very few wars; when whites settled around Marysville all fighting stopped. Fought Marysville, Colusa groups (Valley Maidu and Patwin, respectively); when NF went down to Yuba River to pick grapes, Marysville people chased them out. Or "Marysville people might call NF cowards, and tell them to come down and fight"; NF would then accept challenge. Marysville and Colusa people "mean; no good. Never fought Nevada City [NM], Mooretown

[64]

[209-B]

[MF group], or Plumas Co. [MM] Indians." MM: This section not discussed with informant. MV: Informant lacked all knowledge of war, declared she had never heard it discussed.

2771. At: "Never fought Aporige [other At group]: partners with them; Aporige helped At fight against Wintun. Also Round Mountain people [N Yana] helped; a Round Mountain man was in charge." AW: Hammawi (AE) raids mentioned by informant; AW retaliated. AE: No fights between small villages referred to collectively by outsiders as Hammawi (see note 2617); there were however feuds between villages "over women and girls, or over a doctor of 1 village poisoning the people of a near-by village." Fights between Hammawi and "Big Valley people [Atwamsini Achomawi] were rare; the Kl and the Shasta fought them. Once in awhile [Hammawi] fought the Fall River people [Achomawi proper]; then they'd pay [in settlement]. The [Hammawi] had relations at Big Valley and Fall River. The Madesi [westernmost group of Achomawi] never came into [Hammawi] territory; only the Big Valley Indians fought them." WT: Fought E Wintu groups occasionally. MM, MF: Fought each other occasionally (see note 2770). MF: See note 2770.

2780. MV: "The only people who stole young girls were White people."

2783. AE: See note 2771.

2789. SW: "Lots of stealing of money and stored food by women; this started fights [but only among the women]. Also fights arose among the women from arguments; then they grabbed each other's hair, and threw dirt in each other's faces. Men didn't steal this way, but women did."

Participants

Groups involved; combatants; leaders.--

2790. For definition of autonomous group, see elements 2617 ff.

2791. At: See note 2771. WT: Villages leagued together and asked Trinity Center and Lewiston Wintu to help them sometimes; former also occasionally called on WT for aid. MM: Sometimes asked At (Hat Creek group) to help in war; never asked MF groups, as on rather unfriendly terms with them.

2792. MF: Women never accompany war party, which is chiefly composed of young men.

2795. Kl: Often asked Mo to help. Mo informant also emphasized this. Kl did not pay Mo; latter got food, buckskins, other plunder. At: See note 2771. AE: Headman or "chief" of village group, if latter raided, visits headmen of other near-by village groups, discusses matter during "a big smoke." All headmen consulted then meet at winter living house of group which was attacked, and decide what to do. Headmen then tell their men to join them, when matter is settled, and war dance is held at winter house of attacked group; "then they all go off to war.

[210-A]

727 2917. Kl: Men and women dancers in 2 separate
535 single files; circle fire, men circling it clockwise, women counterclockwise. Women dance on inside, near fire, men on outside. Stamp left foot continually. As men come down to fire, hand women dancers scalps, each on small hand pole. Dancers sing; also have singers who stand by fire. No rattles used. Dance thus for 5 nights sometimes; each night dance stops about midnight.

000 2921. Mo: Center pole has several scalps on it. At: Pole 5 ft. tall. MF: Scalp at top of pole.

[648] 2922. WM: "Learned to tie heart on top of pole from Kl."

2923. Mo: Woman leader of dance carries single scalp on small hand pole.

2940. Such as elkhide tunic, rod armor; carry bow and arrows, and shield if such is used.

727 Purification of killers; wounded.--This sec-
783 tion relates in the main to persons who have en-
627 gaged in intratribal murders rather than to warriors returning from open combats. The distinction between the taboos imposed on killers in open warfare and individuals who have secretly killed in a feud should have been more specifically inquired about, and separate entries made for the purification practices followed in each instance. Unfortunately this was not done and the field data do not allow insertion of separate entries for more than 5 or 6 of the groups covered. As a general rule, warriors seemed to have engaged in few purificatory practices; whereas for SW, SE, and other groups feud-murderers observed many of the taboos listed in this section. MF taboos which follow relate to person who has taken scalp in intertribal war. Such person is deemed witai (crazy) after he has taken scalp; must be purified before he can rejoin family.

2941. Kl: No ceremonialism connected with observance, however. Klamath Marsh men swim in lake.

2951. At: 2-3. WM: 4-5 days.

2955. Kl: Fish also taboo.

Peace Negotiations

000 Compensation for slain; dance of settlement.--
2958. SW: No compensation for slain, but compensation for captives. See note 2873, SW. AE: No settlement for intertribal killings in war; "just keep on owing each other a war (AE owe Paiute a war now; the Paiute came over and killed a man, years ago)." It is modern custom to settle for intertribal wars; Mo did it, under Captain Jack. MM: For intertribal wars, as with Washo, neither side will take payment for those killed. "Just fight it out; when good and ready, MM chief may send messenger man over to Washo; then they'd make friends with them."

• 648

[For information on Klamath-U.S. government relations during the reservation period, see category 116, pp. xv-xvi, 44-53, 57-65, 70-121, 125-181, 185-255, 259-266, and 316-317.]

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many tribesman brought at once into a relationship so explicit and compelling in its demands.

Such public gatherings must be held early in the winter and serve only to punctuate its length. As the season advances and the earth lodges become increasingly fetid and flea-ridden, housewives anxiously eye the dwindling supplies, and social bonds are threatened. During this time, says Ray, Modoc take pains to conceal from outsiders the location of the food cache or the presence of food in the house. Hospitality is necessarily curtailed and theft becomes common. Nonetheless, those shamans who have access to one of the spirits controlling weather still conduct public ceremonies, and they are assisted by the villagers.

If spring is long delayed, the people may be reduced to eating hides, boiled or roasted. Even at this time, however, they will not eat their dogs. When the ground is sufficiently clear of snow, they venture forth to ferret out roots overlooked last year, to gather the tough lichen, and to pry off the tender cambium layer of young ponderosa and lodgepole pines. With the appearance of the first holes in the ice, the men swiftly set about fishing.

As snow retreats and ice melts, and warmer winds waft the delicate odors of growing things, a feverish activity seizes the villages. Some settlements, favorably located, will continue to be occupied through the year. In others the earth lodges are dismantled. The decrepit and those too ill to move reconcile themselves to remaining in the mat lodges with a boy or girl to look after them. The others, raising the dugout canoes from the muddy shallows, where they have been submerged to prevent splitting, pile the household gear and children aboard and, with firm strokes of the pole or paddle, depart for the spring fishing stations. Already, in March, the runs of suckers are surging up the Williamson and Sprague.

At the spot on the latter river where Gmukamps first instituted the tradition, the Klamath observe the first sucker ceremony, which ensures a propitious run. On the lower reaches of Lost River near present-day Olene, there is a famous fishing station, where Modoc and many Klamath congregate for several weeks, catching and drying an estimated fifty tons of fish. On a stream tributary to the upper Sprague, the teeming run of small suckers

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draws upland Klamath, Modoc, and Paiute and gives to the nearby settlement, the easternmost of the permanent villages of the Klamath, the name, "Sucker-fishery." Others make their way to stone weirs, built, it is said, by Gmukamps himself, or to the lakes to fish with a variety of dip nets, gill net baskets, the two-pronged harpoon and the multibarbed spear. At night, men set forth in canoes upon the lake to fish by torchlight. Set lines are put out infrequently. While the men catch the fish—suckers, salmon, and trout—their wives work ceaselessly, splitting them and laying them in the sun to dry.

Released from the protracted confinement to the winter settlements, tribesmen eagerly renew bonds with relatives and friends from other villages. Related families may rendezvous to travel together down to the fisheries and set up their lodges side by side. Then, as spring advances and the runs of suckers and salmon abate, the fishing settlements break up and parties of two or three families fan out along the flats and meadows to dig roots: the succulent camas, the nutlike ipos, yans, and the arrowroot for which Chewaucan Marsh is named. In the watery flats they seek the roots of tule and cattail; elsewhere they pick wild celery and mosses. There are the eggs of swan and other waterfowl to gather; trout in the streams to be caught; and for the Modoc, antelope and mountain sheep to hunt. At this time, some areas are occupied that at other times are too cold or barren.

If there is danger of hostile attack, the parties coalesce; and under all circumstances they maintain a wary lookout. In the north small bands make cautious excursions into the upper valley of the Deschutes, watchful for raiding parties of Cayuse, Nez Percés, Warm Springs, and Paiute. Toward the east, Sycan and Chewaucan marshes are dug over by Klamath and Paiute. Frémont once found the latter tract furrowed as if it had been plowed. In many places the stone-lined earth ovens in which camas and other vegetal foods were baked for winter storage can still be seen.

As the long summer days wear on, the pond-lily seeds, known as wokas, begin to ripen on the marshes, and once more the people draw together. The Modoc congregate especially along Tule and Lower Klamath Lake, while some join the Klamath on Wokas Marsh. Many Klamath, together with a few Modoc

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and Paiute, meet on the broad expanses of Klamath Marsh, where, as Coville observes, over ten thousand acres of ripening plants promise in good years an abundance not to be exhausted by the demands of man. In later times Agents describe wokas as the most important single food of the Indians; and its specialized preparation is one of the most distinct features of their subsistence technology. Its importance is emphasized further by the circumstance that the month of its harvest, August, marks the beginning of the Klamath year. The wokas-gathering is preceded by shamanistic performances to ensure a plentiful crop.

Daily, the dugout canoes, somewhat smaller than those used in fishing and ordinary transport, slip out from the camps upon the broad expanse of the waters. In the openwork bags twined from tules, the pods accumulate until the canoe is full. One old woman recalled how she and a girlhood chum learned how to collect the pond-lily seeds:

> We thought we'd get some wokas. We knew how to do it because we'd seen the people doing it. We took a canoe. First, we fought about which patch to go to. My friend was in one end of the canoe and saw a patch of wokas, but I wanted to go in another direction. We stayed out all day but came home early enough to put the canoe back before the women came. Then we took the wokas out and tried to fix it in a pit with grass and pine needles the way we knew it ought to be done. We made a little place just for our own wokas. Then we decided to get up early the next morning and go out again. We took another canoe. There were always lots of extra poles lying around so we took one. We took some bread and dried fish for lunch. When we got home, we fixed the wokas. We fixed tules to sift it through. Then we put the wokas in a pan and threw it up so the wind would blow the dirt away. My mother saw what we were doing and said, "Yes, that's the best way to do it." I kept asking her how to fix the wokas the different ways, and she told me. I asked her for a little sack to put the wokas in. My mother watched us do all this, and she said that maybe some days she would be tired, and we could use her canoe. We got up every morning, even when it was cold and foggy, for awhile. I got two sacks of wokas. My mother said I could do what I wanted with them so I sold them."

While the women, old men, and children are occupied on the marshes some of the men fare forth to hunt. The favored grounds are in the east, where Klamath and Modoc pursue antelope, mule

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K M 609 In such a sphere, and in relations with strangers beyond, the myths picture encounters fraught with possible danger. They may be initiated by a trucial period which endures until, by proper guest-host behavior, by a claim of kinship or on the other hand by an act of aggression, the issue of "friend or foe" is precipitated. Hospitality dictates that one receive and feed the stranger, though a visiting kinsman brings a gift of food or otherwise repays the kindness. If, however, hostility is decided upon, it rarely becomes open: instead, both sides proceed indirectly, under the guise of amicability, and employ followers or auxiliaries to encompass the destruction of the other. It is here that the prescient qualities of the hero, his access to assistants and to supernatural forces, are decisive.[19]

K M [574]

K • 648 In ethnographic reality, the outer limits of society are marked by the boundaries of common speech. Beyond this, the Klamath maintain amity with the Molala, intermittent friendship and hostility toward the Warm Springs and other Columbia River Sahaptin, who sometimes raid them, and toward the Paiute; inveterate hostility toward the Takelma of the upper Rogue and other peoples west of the Cascades; and a predatory aggressiveness toward the Pit River and Shasta to the south, whom they increasingly raid for slaves and loot.

K M 571 156 [838] The horizons of such a society are not wide. With the exception of the shaman, a part-time specialist, each man and each woman has much the same skills and knowledge as his fellows. The aberrant individual can do no more than assume the dress and behavior of the other sex, ascribing his action to supernatural dictate. The transient forms of the community and the informal constraint it imposes, the paucity of activities that demand concerted action, go hand in hand with a permissiveness in the individual. When this takes aggressive form, it may threaten the very fabric of society.

K M 754 571 152 682 The covert expression of hostility is likely to invest relations beyond the natal family with fear and mistrust. Revenge can take the form of murder from ambush, sorcery to engender the illness or death of the enemy, or the stealthy destruction of his property.[20] One frequent cause of open slayings, and of the feuds that ensue, is suspicion that a shaman has brought about the death of one's kinsman. Commonly, such charges are leveled

TWO

[P. 22]

The Frontier Condition

726 FOR MANY YEARS THE SETTLEMENT OF THE WILLAMETTE AND CO-
• 648 lumbia valleys bypassed the tribes of the Klamath Basin.[1] In-
175 directly, however, they felt the first remote influences, as the Sahaptin-speaking tribes of the middle Columbia, equipped with the superior weapons of the trading posts and mounted on horses acquired from the Shoshonean bands to the south, began to raid up the Deschutes Valley to take Klamath slaves.[2] The Klamath
[231] were at a disadvantage: in 1826 Peter Skene Ogden, of the
[411] Hudson's Bay Company, found them with but a single horse and uneasily awaiting raids by joint parties of Cayuse and Nez Percés; and even by midcentury they had only one firearm among them.[3] The scantiness of the local beaver made their territory of little interest to the company, however, and they came to enjoy a reputation as fierce warriors which preserved them
[101] for some time from settlers. Nonetheless, they were known even then to the tribes of the Columbia, for Ogden applied to them a name, "Clammite," that was not their own and seems to stem from Chinookan.[4]

648 Some ten years after Ogden passed through, a party of French-
175 Canadian trappers made their way into the region and on their return to The Dalles took along some Klamath.[5] From that time on, contact with the tribes at that great Indian trading center increased. Klamath parties moved down the Deschutes Valley, making their way either to The Dalles itself, or branching westward down the north fork of the Santiam along what came to be known as the Klamath Trail, through the settlement of the northern Molala, thence to the Kalapuya on the outskirts of
648 Oregon City. There, in 1843, one missionary recorded the visit
567 of "a large party of the Clamath tribe, fierce and warlike . . .
439 with about twenty slaves, [who] sold most or all of them. Some,
435 I was informed, were sold for three horses each,
175 some cheaper."[6]

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I was informed were sold for three horses each, some cheaper."[6]

In the changing conditions of the early nineteenth century, the Klamath were caught up in currents generated from without. The advent of horses and of firearms made it possible for the tribes of the east-central Plateau, the eastern Salish and eastern Sahaptin, to cross the Rocky Mountains, to hunt buffalo and enter into relations, both peaceful and bellicose, with the tribes of the Plains. As they came under Plains influence, the appeal of Plains garb, of parfleches and tipis, grew.[7] The Klamath were attracted to these new goods, and the clothing at least came to replace or supplement traditional forms of wealth.

Moreover, the horse and the gun had revolutionized warfare patterns. Although traditional enemies beyond the Cascades were preoccupied with white settlers, on the east the Paiute were gradually developing mounted bands of great mobility and striking power. The Klamath and Modoc were not slow to seek the new instruments of war.

The opening trade to the north brought a corresponding intensification of the raids carried south into the territory of the Pit River tribes—the Achumawi and Atsugewi—to capture women and children, Pit River bows, and other loot. As Chiloquin, one of the leaders of the time, recalled:

> When the Snakes [Northern Paiute] made war on us that made us keen to fight other Indians and we made war without provocation on the Pitt Rivers, Shastas and Rogue Rivers, but they never made willing war on us. Those wars lasted a great many years. We found we could make money by war, for we sold the provisions and property captured for horses and other things we needed. It was like soldiers nowadays who fight for money. We made war because we made money by it and we rather got to like it anyhow. The Snakes provoked us to make war on them.[8]

With developing warfare and the accumulation of foreign wealth came a gradual transformation of Klamath, and to a lesser extent, of Modoc society. The forays into hostile country enlarged the scale of the war party. Chiloquin speaks of a body totaling one hundred warriors, which included, according to Spier, members of all the Klamath tribelets, and took in some Modoc as well.[9] A joint raid on the part of Umpqua, Upland Takelma, and other western tribes brought one such retaliatory reprisal about

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1850. Aggressions by Northern Paiute bands led to similar large-scale forays into the country east of Silver and Summer lakes. The almost endemic condition of warfare and the enlarging scale of operations, together with the lucrative trade in booty, brought about the emergence of a chiefly class, the members of which based their power upon eminence in war and possession of wealth, including slaves.[10] Their successes attracted followers, and common interest as well as kinship prompted them at times to cement alliances with shamans.

Thus they drew into their hands coercive powers of no mean weight, for, as Henry Blow observed, "this [shamanistic] power was used by the chiefs to get rid of rivals and there are some of us old enough to remember of doctors being paid to kill certain persons and of their foretellings of the exact day they would die."[11]

The rise of the chiefs helped to knit together tribal loyalties. A war party formerly consisted of only those among the able-bodied men who were inclined to fighting, but a successful leader increasingly transcended tribelet parochialism, drawing followers from diverse hamlets and villages across the Klamath country. As warfare became a way of life, the occasional allegiance rendered while in the field became an enduring acknowledgment of worth.

In the growing eminence of the new leadership, hereditary principles may have been operative. Chiloquin mentions his father as having been a chief on Klamath Marsh, his own brother as a subchief, and a sister as a chief. The father of Dave Hill, a rising young war leader, was a village chief; while Allen David, later head chief in reservation days, was the brother of Captain George, a Klamath Lake chief. That family eminence was not essential, however, is shown by the personal history of Lileks, of good—but not chiefly—background. Lileks was a transvestite in his youth until a supernatural experience vested him with the power that was to lead him to be head chief of the Klamath.[12]

A minor factor in these developments may have been the interest of the whites in the centralization of tribal power, in order that they might deal more effectively with responsible leaders. In 1844, Elijah White, then Sub-agent for Indian affairs met with some Klamath and Molala who had ridden into the

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Kalapuya settlements in the vicinity of Oregon City, and induced them to be regulated by the same rules as were the Nez Percés and to appoint a single paramount chief. A disaffected Indian from The Dalles, however, subsequently joined the party as it was making its way homeward and provoked a quarrel in which those favoring the Agent's proposal were slain.[13]

While these events were taking place, the Klamath country was again being visited, at first by occasional parties whom the Indians watched unseen. In the years 1844-45 a mixed party of Walla Walla, Spokane, and Cayuse, under the Walla Walla chief, Piupiumaksmaks, passed through the Klamath region en route to California to buy cattle. In 1843 and again in 1846 the Klamath were visited by the explorer, John C. Frémont. In his earlier visit, the martial captain, in order to quell "the treacherous disposition, which is a remarkable characteristic of the Indians south of the Columbia," fired a round from his howitzer over Klamath Marsh. Although his action was scarcely calculated to allay the suspicions of the Indians, he was shown the same courtesy as had been extended Peter Skene Ogden years before. A village chief—the father of David Hill—and his wife came out to meet the party and guided them east toward Summer Lake.

Frémont's second entrance, in 1846, was less fortunate. In that year, moving up from California, he passed through Modoc country and thereafter up the west shore of Upper Klamath Lake, where he was attacked by a party that had followed him from the southern end of the lake. Three of his Delaware Indians were slain. Although his attackers probably were from the Klamath Falls tribelet, Frémont's reprisal was directed instead at a village of the Lower Williamson group. Neither women nor children were spared in the attack. The slaughter left a legacy of hatred that did much to draw some of the Klamath into the Molala war.[14]

By the time of Frémont's second visit to the Kamath country, the Indians of Oregon had been sorely stricken. Diseases brought by the whites had ravaged the tribes of the Columbia and Willamette valleys. The Hudson's Bay Company had sought to assure a firm supply of furs in the country it controlled and thus to maintain just and amicable relations with the Indians; and many of its employees had taken Indian wives. It was now being

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supplanted by immigrants from the wagon trains and ships. Some of the newcomers were from areas in which echoes of the frontier still lingered.

From the first, the settlers were active rivals of the Indians for lands and resources. They brought wives who were often repelled by the Indian way of life, and who established for themselves an insular world in which the Indian could find little place. Where they did not directly displace the natives, their swine uprooted camas and cous and their sheep browsed on berries. After an area had been inhabited by settlers for a time, it could no longer support the Indians, save as degraded and drunken remnants. The newcomers, as a whole, found little to respect in Indian culture; and many Indians who tried to follow the missionary's road found that it did not lead to the easy acquisition of the material wealth and status of the Americans. To the disillusioned apostates, finally, can be added those enraged by the lawless deeds of small bands of renegades, both Indian and white.

These events and others of local character lay behind the Cayuse slayings at the Whitman mission in 1847. In that same year, Crooked Finger, the leader of the closely related Northern Molala, visited the Umpqua, Rogue River, Pit River, Modoc, and Klamath, seeking recruits for an uprising timed to take advantage of the absence of local settlers in the military campaign against the Cayuse. Even as preparations were under way, emissaries from the Cayuse are said to have visited his camp in Molala country; but the settlers, forewarned, struck first. In the ensuing fighting, approximately eighty Klamath were involved, comprising over half of Crooked Finger's supporters, and a Klamath chief, Red Blanket, was slain. The triumphant whites gave the survivors three days to leave, and they departed along the Klamath Trail, bearing their dead with them.[15]

During these troubled times, the experience of the Klamath beyond their homeland was consistent: the white man was too powerful to be withstood. Comparable power, said some, must be sought in the white man's way. Link-River Jo, a Klamath subchief, recalled in later years his contact in the 1840's with missionaries at The Dalles who

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> told him about the Holy Spirit that was to come to the whole world and visit its remotest parts. When he came back from the Dalles he told his people about it but found them groping in perfect darkness. . . . They would not believe him and told him he lied. He had watched long for the coming of the Holy Spirit and had never doubted that he should see him. He had heard Mr. Meacham talk for many days. . [and] now he saw that he was not like other men and knew that he must be the Holy Spirit come at last to bring gracious gifts for all tribes. . . ."

Others—and they were to become more influential—lived for some time with whites and became convinced that the best policy for the Klamath was one of peace. They included Lileks, who in the course of the trading excursions to the north dwelled for several years at The Dalles and was exposed there, no doubt, to the examples of authority set by whites as well as by the Columbia River tribes themselves. Another was Dave Hill, who, starting about 1859, lived approximately five years in Oregon City. Allen David, later to succeed Lileks as head chief in reservation days, was "well versed in the ways of the white man, from travel among the Willamette settlement." Another was Charley Preston who, like Hill, had spent five years at Oregon City, working for white farmers and had become "quite civilized and learned many of the white man's ways. He returned to his tribe and became a headman. . . ."[17]

Men such as these became the leaders of a "peace party" among the Klamath, and their views achieved dominance in the growing centralization of power among the Klamath. Lileks may have consolidated the ascendancy he presently achieved as head of this group by marriages beyond his tribelet: to the four wives from his own, Klamath Marsh, division, he added one each from the Lower Williamson and Klamath Falls groups, as well as one from the Modoc. From the Columbia he or a contemporary brought back new "laws," which included the institution of flogging as punishment for murder or for persistent quarreling. In one instance, ascribed by Spier, with some question, to pre-reservation days, when two men of the Lower Williamson River tribelet slew a Klamath Falls man, Lileks had them haled to Klamath Marsh, where each was beaten five times.[18]

When, in 1858, it was indicated that Klamath and Rogue

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River renegades had slain five prospectors on a tributary of the Rogue River, the whites apprehended three Klamath involved in the affair, "whom the Klamaths voluntarily killed to prevent trouble; that tribe being now desirous of standing well with the U.S. Government."[19] It is probable that the hand of Lileks is to be discerned in this matter also. In brief, his power and that of Chiloquin, often termed his second chief, was challenged only by Captain George, leader of a faction hostile to the whites, and by Monchnkasgitk, leader of the remote Upland tribelet.

Thus the frontier condition brought a heightened rate of intertribal warfare and of intertribal trading. It gave the Klamath both peaceful and bellicose exposure to whites, largely outside the Klamath homeland. In the awareness of new ways of life beyond the limited range of which their fathers had been conscious the Klamath of the first half of the nineteenth century became diversified in outlook. Enriched with new goods, Klamath culture prospered, although in comparison with the levels achieved by the whites it seemed poorer than ever. Warfare had consolidated power and wealth in the hands of leaders and the magnitude of their operations drew Klamath and Modoc into an uneasy cooperation.

Indeed, in many of these developments the Modoc participated only to a small degree. In disposing of those slaves destined to be sold at The Dalles, the Klamath and occasionally the Warm Springs peoples acted as middlemen; in consequence the Modoc did not come as fully under the influence of the Columbia River tribes, nor did they amass as much wealth. The development of a chiefly class among them was feebler, and the tribelets coalesced under a single acknowledged leader only tardily and incompletely.[20]

When in 1846 an exploring party under Jesse and Lindsay Applegate laid out an alternate emigrant route known as the South Road, they directed it from Fort Hall down through Modoc country and past the winter settlements on Tule and Lower Klamath lakes, then west of the Cascades and north to the Willamette settlements. The Modoc bitterly resented the invasion of their homeland and waged war against the wagon trains, a war which in turn brought reprisals from the settlers. In 1852, after the Modoc had extensively damaged several trains

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and manhandled some of the survivors, the citizens of Yreka, a mining town in California southwest of the Modoc country, organized a party led by one Ben Wright. Under the guise of a council, they met some forty-six Modoc, to whom they offered a feast of poisoned beef. When the Modoc, forewarned by a Warm Springs Indian, declined to eat, Wright and his followers shot and killed all but five of them.[21]

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By contrast, the Klamath peace party withheld their hand. As Chiloquin later recalled an event of that year, a party under Captain Jim Crosby pursued some of the Modoc in the direction of Silver Lake.

> The troops did not find the Modocs but at Oux-y [at the north end of Klamath Marsh] killed some Klamaths. They killed a few up on the marsh, some on Williamson River and a good many on both sides of Klamath Lake, but this did not precipitate a war with my people. Even if they felt like avenging the death of the people, they knew they could not contend against the whites long, for they had learned they were as numerous as the trees on the mountains.
>
> Below the Dalles on the Columbia River a Modoc murdered one of the McKays or one of old Tom McKay's friends,[22] The murderer made his escape to the Modoc country, but was pursued as far as Oux-y by McKay's friends. The chief Chim-tolk and my brother, Beaded Hat, who was a sub-chief, and three men pursued the murderer and brought him back to Oux-y and there killed him.[23]

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For the emergent leaders of the Klamath, the maintenance of a consistent policy toward neighboring settlers posed problems of control. Similar difficulties beset the whites. From 1852 on, some men were accepted within tribal territory by the Indians as personally known and trustworthy. Wallace Baldwin, who ran cattle on land south of the present site of Klamath Falls, was one to whom Indians made gifts of roots, wokas, and game. Judge F. Adams in 1856 was grazing two thousand head of cattle in the vicinity of Keno; having made terms with the Indians, he was not molested. Wendolen Nus ranged stock in Klamath country in 1858-59, and, following a sojourn in the John Day region, returned in the 1860's to become the first permanent settler in the Klamath Basin. From 1857 on, the fur trader, Marty Frain, made an annual trip out of Yreka for the spring fishing at Lost River. Frain is quoted as saying that the Indians would be

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175 peaceable save for the whites who from time to time slew some
• 648 of them without provocation.[24]

The Indians had provocation in plenty. With the opening of the goldfields in northern California, would-be miners passed from the Willamette Valley through the Klamath country. There were the border ruffians living on the fringe of society, to whom the judgment of the Rev. Samuel Parker might justly apply. "Their demoralizing influence . . . with the Indians," he exclaimed, "has been lamentable, and they have imposed upon them in all the ways that sinful propensities dictate. It is said they have sold them packs of cards at high prices, calling them the bible; and have told them if they should refuse to give white men wives, God would be angry with them and punish them eternally, etc."[25] Some of the depredations ascribed to Indians were their doing.

Even the more responsible settlers found it difficult to escape being tangled in indiscriminate reprisals. Early in 1854 four men were slain near Lower Klamath Lake, and in May of the same year settlers attacked the Indians at Klamath Ferry. In almost every case the government placed the responsibility upon the whites, a view the latter repudiated indignantly.[26]

Armed escorts provided for the immigrant trains discouraged direct and massive assaults, but did not entirely eliminate them. Meanwhile, bands comprising individuals from several tribes were harrying transient prospectors, settlers, and particularly immigrants plodding full-laden through tribal territory.

In 1862 Joseph A. Chaffee established a ferry across the Klamath River and another at the lower end of Klamath Lake, after having paid the sum of one hundred dollars which the bands required of him. The Indians then extorted a second fare from each of his passengers and after two weeks drove Chaffee away. He reported that they levied a charge of one dollar a night for grass upon those passing through the country and robbed small and defenseless parties. These bands, well armed, were said to comprise Modoc, Paiute, and Snakes (Northern Paiute), who asserted "that in case of difficulty, they will be supported by all these different tribes of Indians."[27]

The rapid settlement of the country made evident that some control must be extended over the tribes of southern Oregon. As

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early as 1849, Jesse Applegate, who had glimpsed the Klamath Basin as a leader of the South Road expedition, introduced a bill into territorial legislature to charter an association, The Klamath Company, to treat with the Indians and purchase lands from them.[28] Since these powers were reserved to the government, the bill failed of passage. In 1854, Joel Palmer, Superintendent of Indian Affairs for Oregon, desired to see at first hand the country and its people, whose "thieving propensities" had been a source of complaint. Consequently he persuaded a Klamath chief whom he encountered in Oregon City to bring together his people for a council at Klamath Lake.

Together with an interpreter, a Warm Springs guide, and the chief he made his way southward up the valley of the Deschutes and into Klamath country. It was mid-August and the tribesmen were doubtless out gathering wokas. Messengers sent to summon the Modoc, Paiute, and Pit River tribes proved to be fruitless; and only members of the Klamath Marsh, Agency Lake, and Lower Williamson River tribelets came in to the council. Palmer warned them of ". . . our determination to punish those who committed acts of violence and theft against our people, and [listened] to their replies and promises of good conduct. . . ." He then made some presents and the council broke up "with an apparent good feeling." Years later, Henry Blow was to contrast his liberality by inference with the parsimony of the government under the treaty.[29]

Palmer came away favorably impressed with the Klamath country as a place to colonize—i.e. remove—the Indians from the Willamette and Umpqua valleys. Of the three full Indian Agents under his control, he felt that the Agent for the southeastern district should reside in the vicinity of Klamath Lake, and that should the reservation he envisaged come into being a cavalry detachment should be posted there.[30]

The plan to remove the western tribes beyond the Cascades was subsequently dropped, but other phases of the plan were soon put into operation. Mounting hostilities, although not within Klamath territory, gave it impetus. Indeed, the surveying expedition under Lt. R. S. Williamson that pursued its way the next year through Klamath country and up the river that now bears his name, encountered no difficulty en route, but emerged from

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its sojourn in eastern Oregon into the midst of the Rogue River and Yakima wars of 1855.[21]

Although behind them the Klamath settlements remained at peace, Klamath in the troubled areas were caught up in the dragnet. When the special agent for the upper Umpqua Valley was collecting the friendly Umpqua in order to shift them temporarily to the site of a proposed reservation, at the request of local citizens he also received some 35 Klamath, "who willingly surrendered their arms and ammunition." Again, in the roundup of approximately 1,440 Indians of coastal Oregon and the Willamette Valley in 1856, awaiting removal to permanent reservations, were members of tribes with whom no treaties had yet been concluded, who usually wintered in the Willamette Valley, and who in those troubled times sought the protection of the Indian department. Among them were 141 Klamath.[22] Even Lileks, out hunting deer in the mountains with some men of the Pelican Bay tribelet, was picked up, as were his companions. With their families they were taken to Oregon City and confined for some time until Lileks was able to secure their release.[23]

In the Klamath country itself, the alarms of war persistently pointed to the Klamath as hostile. Settlers reported the tribesmen armed and threatening on the Santiam and the Kalapuya, and saw signal fires burning along the Klamath Trail from the Lakes to Oregon City.[24]

In the aftermath of warfare grew a new determination to end the recurrent hostilities. Wrote Commissioner of Indian Affairs James W. Denver in 1857:

> I know of no alternative to the present unsatisfactory and dangerous state of things but the adoption of early measures for the extinguishment of [Indian] title, and their colonization on properly located reservations, using and applying the consideration agreed to be allowed to them for their lands to subsist and clothe them until they can be taught and influenced to support and sustain themselves. The losses and damage to the government and to the citizens resulting from another general outbreak on the part of these Indians would probably fully equal, if not exceed, in amount what would be necessary to buy out and colonize them, so that they could be effectively controlled, if not improved and civilized.[25]

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In Oregon, Indian Agent G. H. Abbott promptly paid a visit to the Klamath for the twin purpose of concluding treaties with Klamath and Modoc and of selecting a site for an agency. The legislative session of 1858-59 instructed the delegate to Congress to press for the establishment of both agency and a military post in the Klamath country. Once more in 1860 the legislature urged that treaties be signed with the remaining unreduced tribes of Oregon and that military posts be authorized at Warm Springs and in the Klamath region.[36] The outbreak of the Civil War delayed action until the following year.

Meanwhile, the hostile bands in southern Oregon grew bolder. They operated particularly in the zones beyond tribal territory, where the wagon trains, laden with potential loot and owned by nameless strangers who had no claim to consideration, were a fit counterpart to the villages of the Pit Rivers. For at least one leader an additional spur for the attack was provided by the fear that the country would soon fill up with strangers.

This man was the Klamath Lake chief, Kiluampch, "Old Brave," also known as Captain George. He was a brother of Allen David, who, however, held quite different views. It was during Captain George's period of dominance that Chief Sam of the Rogue River hostiles reported in 1852 that "the Indians at the Klamath Lake country had agreed to kill off all that might come in that way. That they do not intend to let any more whites come into their country." Two years later, as Judge A. M. Rosborough wrote Colonel Drew, the Klamath met with emissaries from the tribes of the Illinois, Rogue, and Upper Klamath rivers to plan concerted war upon the whites, with the bands of Shasta and Scott's Valleys attending but declining to take part. "The Upper Klamath or Klamath Lake Indians," he added, "(with the exception of the tribe [of] which La Lakes is chief) commenced their depredations by killing Whites and stealing stock, and a report was current among the friendly Indians that these hostiles intended to destroy the immigrants as fast as they came from the Valley of the Humboldt."[37]

Captain George, like his brother, had been exposed to the American settlements but had been antagonized in the process. "George," wrote Elijah Steele, "had acquired some knowledge

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of the English language, and fully comprehended the civil war under which our unfortunate country is now suffering, and he thought, or professed to think, that if all the Indians unite they could kill off all the whites and retake the country." He and another chief, known as Skookum John—a man suspected of instigating trouble in 1856—were reputed to counsel war continuously.[38]

In power, the redoubtable hostile had few peers. As of about 1859, he was war chief of both Klamath and Modoc, in which capacity he divested a Modoc chief of his elk-skin cuirasses for refusing to join an expedition against the Pit River tribes. Indeed, Henry Blow later averred that Captain George had superseded Lileks as chief for a time, during which he had entered into a treaty—with whom is uncertain, though possibly with Rosborough or Steele in Northern California—and had been promised pay as head chief.[39]

In its own time, the government moved to contain the threat posed by his ascendancy. The necessary action embraced both military and civil commitments, and the contentions engendered lie vividly upon the pages of the day.

Outstanding among the individuals involved were members of the numerous Applegate clan, whose destinies were to be intertwined with the Klamath for almost a half-century. They were led by the doughty Lindsay Applegate, who had crossed the plains with his brothers, Jesse and Charles, and their families in the great migration of 1843. A staunch Union man and a Republican, he then resided at Ashland Mills, across the Cascades from the Klamath country. Of his extensive family, mention should be made of four of his sons, Elisha, who held the office of surveyor general, Ivan, Lucien, and Oliver. As a member of the state legislature, Lindsay Applegate had been instrumental in securing passage of the joint resolution calling for the establishment of a military post in the Klamath country. During the Rogue River War, he had served with distinction as captain of a company of mounted volunteers. His second-in-command on that occasion had been J. W. Perit Huntington, married to a daughter of brother Charles, and a man with whom he shared the conviction that the Indians must be dealt with firmly but justly.[40]

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Acting out of Northern California from the mining town of Yreka, south of the Modoc country, were A. M. Rosborough and his friend and successor, Judge Elijah Steele. They followed a policy in independence of that in Oregon and exercised a restraint in dealing with the hostiles which Applegate and his associates were to denounce as coddling. Animosities between the two states were involved: the Californians with some justification maintained that the Oregonians were bent on making a profit from the location of the military post.[41]

As if it were not enough to find a schism within the ranks of those civilians who were to be responsible for the handling of Indian affairs, further complications arose. The military campaign was entrusted to a company of volunteers led by Colonel Charles S. Drew, who hailed from the town of Jacksonville, a few miles distant from Ashland Mills and its economic rival. Drew, as Steele averred, had come under the influence of Gen. George Wright, commanding the Department of the Pacific, and was aligned with him in violent disagreement with the leniency displayed toward the natives by the Indian Bureau. Applegate and his friends darkly suspected Drew of seditious views; and the implication is strong that they felt Drew was endeavoring, through harsh measures, to foment a general Indian war which would divert much needed troops from the fighting on the eastern seaboard.[42]

About 1861, the Rogue iver settlements were plagued by an influx of Klamath, Modoc, and Paiute, who were soon supporting themselves by trading with the whites, by theft, and by prostitution of their women. They expressed themselves as eager to sell their lands, but in their new location they were "a constant source of annoyance and terror" to the settlers. Consequently, anticipating an immediate danger, the Superintendent of Indian Affairs for Oregon, William H. Rector, appointed Lindsay Applegate to the post of special Indian agent for the Indians of southern Oregon to deal with these and related matters. Shortly thereafter, Elisha Applegate rode off to Salem carrying a petition from the people of Jackson County for a reservation at Klamath Lake.[43]

The new military post was authorized and in 1863 it took form in the heart of the Klamath country, between Fort Creek and Wood River. Bitterly, Lindsay Applegate, once more a private

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citizen—his office having lapsed for lack of authorized pay—denounced the location in a letter to Huntington, now Superintendent of Indian Affairs for Oregon. "Drew . . . and his *Copperhead* friends, have already committed an outrage in the country, by locating the Fort in a place, where it entirely fails to accomplish the objects for which a post was ordered, solely I believe for selfish and factious purposes of their clan."[44]

Drew, while recommending that treaties be concluded with Lileks' and Old George's bands of Klamath, and with certain other groups, roundly scored these tribes as "a horde of practical thieves, highwaymen, and murderers, cowardly sycophants before the white man's face, and perfidious assassins behind his back". He annexed to his report a detailed list of hostilities in the Klamath Lake – Tule Lake – Goose Lake region from the opening of the South Road down to the time of his report. Following one such attack in 1856 which left at least thirty-nine fatalities, and in which the abduction of women and children was suspected, as he claimed, "the Indians of Umpqua valley exhibited an unusual number of dresses and other articles of female apparel," which they alleged they had obtained from the Indians at Klamath Lake".[45]

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Drew moved with dispatch. To the south, the long-standing warfare waged by Klamath and Modoc against Shasta and Pit River tribes had ended by embroiling them with the settlers. Suspecting the whites of having sided with the Shasta, who had slain several of their warriors, the hostile Klamath and Modoc under Captain George had, in the words of Steele, "commenced depredations by stealing the cattle of the frontier settlements, robbing travellers passing through their country, and uttering threats of murder and war on the opening of the spring." Acting upon a petition by citizens and a letter from Sub-agent Amos E. Rogers, Drew promptly arrested Captain George and summarily hanged him. George's troublesome colleague, Skookum John, met his death in the same action. At one stroke the bellicose faction had been decapitated.[46]

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So draconian a measure did not pass without comment. In a confidential letter to Huntington, Rogers wrote from Jacksonville, intimating that it had all been planned beforehand by Drew and other Copperheads at a "turkey and champaign dinner" at

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Captain T'Vault's. "The party who met at this dinner," he insisted, "freely discussed the policy of this arest* and execution. It was determined that the charges contained in the petition of citizens and my letter to Drew was sufficient to arrest and hang the Indian . . . without trial or further evidence. The insolence that Drew complained of was, of course, but a pretext."[47]

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The Indians, not surprisingly, found these measures profoundly unsettling, and sought out their friend, Lindsay Applegate. 'I was visited a few days ago by Lake indians," he recounted to Huntington early in 1864,

> who said that they had been instructed by thier people, to learn of me, whether thier country was to be taken from them or not without compensation, and if they were to be made slaves. They say Col. Drew has taken possession without thier having any assurance that they would ever get anything for thier country, and that it would shortly be over run by settlers.
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> They complain bitterly of these things, [but] say they do not want war with the whites. . . . If the Bill now before Congress proposing to make treaties with these indians, passes, we will be saved in all probability from an indian war, for the course that Drew is pursuing toward them will I think, if not counteracted in some way, certainly lead to war. . . .[48]

In June, Huntington, having communicated with his opposite in California, Austin E. Wiley, made his way to the new post, Fort Klamath, to confer with the Klamath and Modoc chiefs and those headmen that could be assembled in preparation for a treaty council the following October. He reported that they were "friendly with the whites and have been for some time. Their desire to treat for the sale of their lands has been known for some time. . . ." He was pleased to learn that Capt. William Kelly, finding the Indians in a suffering condition during the previous winter, had advanced them foodstuffs out of his own stores. It was an act of statemanship pronounced by Huntington to have "a most salutory effect in conciliating the Indians, and rendering future control of them easy and economical."[49]

In California a few months earlier, another peacemaker had been at work. Elijah Steele, who had succeeded his friend, Rosborough, as Indian Agent, had returned in mid-February from San Francisco to find a large gathering of Indians encamped

* Original spelling has been adhered to in all reports and letters.

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near his house, whom his wife "had been lecturing . . . upon the best way to live with each other, and with other people." They were the chastened tribes whose hostilities Drew had summarily suppressed, now gathered under their peace chiefs: the Klamath were here under Lileks, the Modoc under Schonchin, and the Shasta bands under their several chiefs.

Steele saw an opportunity to stabilize the frontier, and set about to conclude a treaty. He justified his action by the belief that the country of the Klamath and Modoc extended into California, that "an unhappy difference existed between [Agent Amos E. Rogers at] Jacksonville and the military department [i.e. Drew]," and that there was impending danger of an outbreak of hostilities.

He and interested citizens now found it relatively easy to reach an agreement with the tribes whereby they consented to live in peace and friendship with one another, to give up to the soldiers for punishment any person who violated this principle; to live on the same terms with non-Indians, permitting them free passage through their country and charging them only for ferry passage across rivers or guiding them on their way. They further agreed not to get drunk or to steal when in the settlements or white camps, or to rob the Chinese sluice-miners; to remain out of town at night, to refrain from selling Indian children of their own or other tribes or from selling women to any save an Indian, unless the purchaser agreed to marry her before a judge.

The Klamath and Modoc convenanted not to raid the Pit River tribes and to submit to the regulation of the officers at Fort Klamath. In the settled country, except when hunting, Indians were not to carry bows and arrows or firearms, and they were not to bring the latter into the settlements, except to be repaired. In return, they were granted permission to visit the settlements when provided with a pass from the officers at Fort Klamath, and were assured of protection while there.[50]

In his capacity as counselor of the Indians, Steele also intervened in a disputed Modoc leadership. Their dominant chief, Schonchin, had served as spokesman for the Modoc, still a loose congeries of bands, and had led them since his succession in 1846. In his earlier days, he had fought valiantly against the whites.

> I thought [he recollected in later years] if we killed all the white men we saw, that no more would come. We killed all we could;

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> but they came more and more like new grass in the spring. I looked around and saw that many of our young men were dead and could not come back to fight. My heart was sick. My people were few. I threw down my gun. I said, "I will not fight again." I made friends with the white man.[51]

Despite the fact that Schonchin was favorably disposed toward the whites and had represented the Modoc in an agreement at which Steele had presided, Steele heeded more militant factions which sought to replace him. Two chief contenders came forward: the extremist, John Schonchin, a younger brother of the chief who was then absent, and the somewhat more moderate Kintpuash, whom Steele dubbed Captain Jack. At the election, the tribesmen in attendance chose the latter, and Steele designated him chief of all the Modoc.

In the course of the council, under the mistaken belief that Modoc territory lay largely within California, Steele negotiated a treaty with that tribe whereby they pledged their readiness to relinquish all their territory in exchange for assurances that they would be permitted to retain the area about Tule Lake. Since Steele was not authorized to enter into agreements of this character, his treaty was not ratified by Congress, although the Modoc remained unaware of that fact. Shortly thereafter, he was removed from office by a political maneuver.[52]

Less than a month after the Yreka council, the newspapers carried the news that Congress had appropriated $20,000 to effect a treaty and purchase the lands of the Klamath, Modoc, and Paiute. Late in June, Huntington was instructed to effect the treaty, and in August he visited the tribes for a preliminary conference. About the same time, Lileks and a delegation of Klamath are said to have waited on their friend, Captain Kelly, to propose that such a treaty be entered into. Early in October, Huntington, together with Agent William Logan to represent the absent superintendent for California, repaired once more to Fort Klamath to enter into the treaty.

The parties to the treaty, according to Huntington, included 21 Klamath chiefs and headmen, led by Lileks and Chiloquin, representing 710 Klamath then present. Of the signatories who can be identified, at least 9 were Klamath Marsh men. The Modoc were led by Schonchin, still recognized as head chief by Huntington, and included the Klamath-Modoc interbreed, Chief

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George (Sleketatk), Captain Jack, and one Chuck-e-i-ox (Njakeaks).[53] They are said to have represented 339 Modoc. Finally, there were two Paiute, who signed for some 22 members then present of a group known as the Yahuskin band of Snakes.[54] The Walpapi Snakes, under their crafty leader, Panaina, were also to have been included, but they withdrew and were dealt with in a separate treaty in August, 1865.[55]

Captain Kelly, who was present, gives figures for the tribes that differ somewhat from those of Huntington. He notes that all the Klamath, including their slaves, were present, and numbered 133 males over fifteen years of age, 286 women, and 214 children. Of the Modoc, 46 men, 15 women, and 16 children were in attendance. "About 40 of the Modoc warriors," he adds, "were absent with the women and children in their own country. They have about the same proportion of women and children as the Klamaths." Finally, the Snakes numbered 11 men, 5 women, and 6 children.[56] It is possible that the absent Modoc included members of the party advocating continued resistance.

Many years later, the Upland Klamath leader, Monchnkasgitk, recalled the treaty making:

> Huntington came to Council Grove and sent out invitations to all the Indians to meet him to discuss a treaty about the lands. I went as chief with Seven Warm Springs Indians to the first meeting at Council Grove. I met La Lake, head chief, and Chiloquen, chiefs of the Klamaths; also Captain Jack, Schonchen, and Chief George of the Modocs.
>
> Huntington met me there with the man who wrote for him, and another white man. We were there about a week and talked three days about the treaty. We built our first camp fire under a big pine tree which I think is still there. Huntington made a speech and said: "I have come from Washington, from the Great Father, to see about buying your land and have brought [with] me the things to pay for it." He then showed up fishhooks, beads, buttons, coarse blankets, and red paint. Huntington finished his speech by saying, "Tell me how much land you want to save for yourselves?" The chiefs went back to the camp and talked among themselves and agreed, and the next day told Huntington they wanted the land from the three snow mountains and the Cascades (the three sisters) from there to Steens Mountain; thence southerly along the mountains east of Goose Lake Valley to the California line, then westerly to the Cascades, taking in the Tule Lake country; then back to the beginning.

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Parenthetically, it may be observed that this tract encompasses in a general way the entire holdings of the three signatory groups, save that the Modoc included only the land reserved for them under the treaty with Steele earlier in the year.

> Huntington replied [Monchnkasgitk continues] that was "too much land for you to take care of and hold, and I want you to go back to your camp and think it over, and then point out to me land near your homes here, which you can hold and take care of." So we went to camp and all talked it over for many hours, and finally agreed on Lee Lakes proposition, that we should keep the land to Tom sum ne, then to His chok sal as, Bal la wisk se, Tsne whel ste e los, Ba ha, Chok chok e lisk se, then to Kal wal by Ish tish e wax.
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> To this Huntington agreed, saying, "That is all right; and the matter is now finished. You will be closed up, like in a high fence, so no one can get over to you; or their cattle get over, nor can you get out to them without permission; so, tomorrow I will issue you all the things I have, and to-night we will have a big dance."
>
> The next day the things Huntington had were issued and they all went and signed the treaty.[57]

The Klamath, Nash observes, are reported to have signed the treaty willingly but both Modoc and Paiute did so only with reluctance.[58]

In the designation of boundaries, the seeds for future contention were sown. As members of the Boundary Commission observed in 1896:

> The two Commissioners of the Government, with their assistants, proceeded into a country practically unknown to them to treat with an assemblage of Indians who were ignorant of the fundamental principles of the matter to be discussed, the Indian language having no words expressing the idea of direction, by equivalents of the points of the compass, or distance by measures of miles, yards, etc.[59] To this day the older Indians can only designate direction by pointing, and distance by fractions of a day's travel; hence their topographical descriptions were very vague, unless confined to particular points. It is not surprising, therefore, that confusion should ensue when the agreement, reached after days of discussion, under such conditions, was condensed into a few lines of our language.[60]

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The terms of the treaty mark the passage of the Indians—who came to be designated the Klamath Tribe—from a state of sovereign independence to a place under the government of the

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175 United States, and more directly under the supervision of an
• 648 Agent. Part of the Agent's duties were "to promote the well-being of the Indians, advance them in civilization, and especially agriculture, and . . . secure their moral improvement and education."[61]

The Tribe thus engaged to enter upon a program of extensive change designed to make its members into farmers by American standards, sending their children to school, and utilizing the services of a physician. It was even envisaged that they should at some time privately own the land they tilled, though without the power to alienate it. The terms of payment make it very probable that both parties to the treaty thought the Indians would be able to attain self-sufficiency by the end of twenty years. The reservation was to be set apart for the Indians, subject to the will of the President of the United States, with rights of way for railroads and public roads reserved for United States citizens, and with governmental option to move other tribes upon it in the future. The Indians agreed to submit to "all laws and regulations which the United States may prescribe for their government and conduct," including that banning their use of liquor, to remain upon the reservation, save when given temporary leave by the Agent, and to relinquish independent military action. They were confirmed in their exclusive right to take fish, roots, seeds, and berries within the reserved area, and were to be protected there against the trespass of any unauthorized white.[62]

The prominent role that governmental planning assigned to economic self-sufficiency and to isolation from outside interference is set forth in the words in which Huntington in his report justified the choice of site.

> In determining the bounds of the reservation, I sought primarily to secure a tract of country which had local advantages for supporting a colony of Indians by industrial pursuits. . . . A second object, and one scarcely less important, was to so locate the tribes that their separation from whites would be as nearly complete as possible. This reservation is not likely to be traversed by any important line of travel, and but a small portion of it will be coveted by whites for settlement.[63]

With slight amendments the treaty was signed once more in December, 1869, by the chiefs and headmen of the Indians, ratified by Congress, and signed into law and proclaimed February 17, 1870.

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR 10 Klamath NR 10

[Klamath Reservation]

ALLIE SAYS

539 You Tecumseh sent us a letter stating that you had a skookum tum tum.* I am glad to hear this. We are all the same here. Are all living comfortably and have a hias close tum tum.† Your wife and children hias close mitlite.‡ No one troubles them or mistreats them. You must not get a sick tum tum§ while you are gone. We are all right – and want you to have no fears about us. Your little girl is not entirely well, has not a very good appetite & I asked Mr. Dyar to let her have some store flour.

Yours Allie

* Strong heart
† Very good heart
‡ Remain very well
§ Worry, grieve

BLOW SAYS

Old Hias man's wife is dead, and I had a notion to put Chick Chick and Link River Doctor in the guard house. The old woman said that L. R. Doctor was not guilty. Ortugul became foolish & could not seem to get Boston* law, and also, Eli† so we broke them of being Sargeants. They could not seem to understand matters properly.

We try to help Mr. Dyar and carry out his instructions but these two men could not throw away their Indian ways. I have had to talk to Yainax Ben because he was not quite straight about some of these matters. He has tried to persuade Mr. Dyar to let certain parties go unpunished that we all thought should be kept in the guard house. Old Chick Chick for one. Ben did not talk straight but told some untruths.

Allen David has told you how our young men are doing. My mind is that this is first-rate. I am very glad about these things could almost cry about it I am so glad. I don't want them to give these things up. I want you to know about these things.

I understand that no provision has ever been made for pay of Head
• [648] Chief on this Agency. George the old chief who was hung‡ was promised pay for being chief by those who first made a treaty with him and a paper was sent to Washington to that effect. I know that straight and this is why I tell you this. Lincoln was President at that time. Chief George told us this, and shortly after he was hung when La-Lakes became chief again but said nothing about pay. Now Lincoln and George are both dead and I don't know what has become of the paper. I want you and Oliver & Meacham to talk to the Hias Tyee§ about this.

You Oliver|| promised Allen David that you would get a salary for

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

539
[648]

him. Now you are going to Washington I want you to talk to the Tyee about this. I want Dave Hill & Tecumseh to know what the Tyee says about this. (By the way it would be a great relief to all of us if you can possibly bring this matter before the Comr. in the presence of Dave & Tecumseh as then perhaps Allen David might be convinced that it is useless to talk more about it – Dyar) We have cut our hair as Mr. Meacham wished us to do and try to be like white men. I live up to the treaty and am all right. Capt Jack did not and is no more. What Captain said is straight. I think is good that he should have a wagon. He wants one very much. I think if you tell the Hias Tyee about this he will not get frightened as a wagon don't cost very much. I think that we should be helped to these things if possible. I have been chief for a long time. God knows that I am free from the blood of White men and that I want to live right. I help Mr. Dyar and we both are big men. I know about Gen. Grant and I want him to know that I help him in keeping my people straight. I want him to know what I say today. I have not sent him any talk for a long time.

I talk to him as a man – a big man – and I want to consider him as my father and never give him up. I never want anything but the best of feelings between us. I don't want to talk foolishness to him, only about big things. Mr. Dyar keeps a close watch over us and he knows that I talk straight. I wish a mowing machine so that we can cut more hay for our cattle. I fear that some of them will die this winter.

Yours Truly
Blow

* American
† Probably Eli Chikaskane
‡ Captain George
§ President
‖ O. C. Applegate

Feb. 4th 1875

Today Mr. Dyar read your letter to us and we are very glad to hear from you. Today we came to the agency to hear your letter read, so that we can tell all the people what you wrote and all are very glad to hear from you to get your first letter, and glad to hear your good talk.

Julia, Chickaskane's wifes little girl (half breed) is dead or lost. She was living with Tom McKezy [McKay?] down on the Klamath above Bogus, and Tom sent a letter to Mr. Dyar stating that she had run off. Tobakelly went down to see about it and Tom told him that she was lost. I do not know the facts about it

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10
Modoc NS17

[Klamath Reservation]

000 For the recency of separation of the Modoc, see Gatschet (1890), Pt. 1, pp. 13, 14, n.13, 1.

5. See Sapir, reprinted in Mandelbaum (1951), pp. 169-78.

K M [114] [161] 6. Mooney (1928), p. 18, gives a value for the Klamath of 800 and for the Modoc, 400 persons. Kroeber (1925), p. 320, sets the combined figure at 2,000 and estimates that the Klamath have always numbered more than twice the Modoc population. Spier (1930), p. 5, reaches total figures in agreement with Kroeber. Kroeber (1939), pp. 136-38, reverts to Mooney's values in estimating tribal densities.

7. For the latter, chiefly Barrett (1910), Coville (1897, 1904), Curtin (1912), Curtis (1924), Dorsey (1901), Gatschet (1890), Kroeber (1925), Powers (1877), Ray (1963), and Spier (1930), the last two being the most important sources, respectively, for Modoc and Klamath.

8. Anastasio (1955). The changing societal constellations each directed toward a common task also resemble the "structural poses" described by Gearing (1962), for the eighteenth-century Cherokee, with the difference that the social groups entering into the constellations among the Klamath and Modoc are, by comparison, far more diffuse and less well defined.

9. Spier (1930), p. 13, site 6.

10. See Spier (1930), p. 15, site 23. The settlement size follows Spier.

11. As the Klamath pungently express it, "They even divide up a flea." Barker (1963), pp. 162-63.

K [648] [625] 12. An Agent once requested waiver of the stipulation that Indian police must stand five feet eight inches in height, since few Klamath men could qualify.

13. Dorsey (1901), p. 21.

14. Quoted in Pearsall (1950), pp. 348 ff. For details of wokas preparation, see Coville (1904).

15. Spencer (1956), pp. 77 ff. From time to time, I heard much the same speech directed by this woman to the boy, aged twelve. As Spencer remarks, at no time did his immediate actions give occasion for her harangue. She was, however, much concerned over some of his associates.

K M [594] 16. The term "natal family" is employed as a more graceful alternative to the conventional "family of orientation," to denote the nuclear unit into which the individual is born and within which he is reared. For similar reasons, I have preferred the term "marital family" to denote the "family of procreation," a similar entity seen from the vantage of the married partners who stand at its head. See Murdock (1949), p. 13, for a discussion of the original terms.

5: Barrett E-5 (1907) 1910
NR10 Klamath NR10
Modoc NS17

situated about upper Klamath Lake and in the mountains to the east; except for a part of the Modoc in Oklahoma. It is the object of the present paper to discuss briefly the conditions of aboriginal life among these people, due consideration being given their natural environment and the influence of surrounding peoples upon them.

TERRITORY.

The territory occupied by the Klamath Lake and Modoc Indians lies chiefly in the drainage basins of Upper and Lower Klamath lakes and Tule or Rhett lake. From a point near the confluence of Keen creek with Klamath river the western boundary of their territory probably extended along the watershed separating the Klamath lake and Rogue river drainages, to the foothills of the mountain in which Crater lake is situated. It should be noted, however, that the Klamath, while they feared Crater lake, did go upon certain occasions to the lake and seem not to have been molested there by other Indians. It would seem that the lake was looked upon as a sort of territory of mutual rights by the peoples in its vicinity. They visited it when they desired to acquire great merit in hunting or other pursuits in which supernatural power was necessary. To go and bathe in this wonderful lake was a brave thing to do, and made a man lucky for hunting or other similar pursuits and made him very strong for war. It would appear that the relations formerly existing between the Klamath and the people of the Rogue river drainage were not at all friendly, so that the Klamath seldom ventured as far west as the crest of the range. They did on occasion make up large parties and go up to the crest of the range for the purpose of hunting, but small parties rarely ventured so far. The region for some distance to the west and northwest of Crater lake was also visited by the Klamath for the purpose of gathering berries in season.

On the north the boundary extended as far as to the headwaters of Deschutes river, thus including the whole drainage basin of Klamath marsh.[1] On the east the boundary probably

[1] The Bureau of Ethnology's map in Bulletin 30 gives to the Lutuami territory as far north in the Deschutes drainage as latitude 44. See also volume I of this Bulletin, 779, 1907.

Section II. The Setting — Klamath Reservation Culture

The Klamath Reservation was established in 1864 by a treaty between the United States Government and three separate groups, the Klamath, the Modoc, and the Yahuskin Snake (Paiute). Because the differences which once divided these original groups have disappeared in the face of acculturation and the common experience and status as Indian in contrast to White, the contemporary Klamath may be considered as one people. This section consists of a sketch of today's reservation culture, and will necessarily have to exclude mention of the local variant of American culture, although Whites form the largest share of the reservation's population.

The reservation lies in what is known as the Klamath Basin, which is to say between the eastern Cascades and the Basin Range. It contains the heart of what used to be Klamath country, for Modoc and Paiute lands were lost in the treaty stipulations. The reservation consists of alternating valleys and low ridges, and has an average elevation of 4000 feet. Of the more than a million acres of land within its boundaries, some 800,000 are covered with stands of commercially valuable timber, Ponderosa Pine, Douglas Fir, and other lesser species. The reservation also includes numerous lakes, marshes and streams, which through tributaries eventually drain into the Klamath river. The ecological aspects of these water courses were essential to the aboriginal Klamath economy, as they are essential to the recreational hunting and fishing of the present population, White or Klamath.

Today the Klamath represent an unassimilated enclave living on what remains of their own territory, but in the midst of and intermingled with a dominantly White culture. For nearly a century they have maintained multiple loyalties: to the Agency, which represents the Government, to the Tribe, which was an artificial construct and has seldom been a viable corporate group, to the local towns and communities, which afford them a special status, to their own kin groups, whose functions and structure have changed drastically, and to the State, which now embraces them as citizens.

In the century or more of White contact and settlement the Klamath have lost their former isolation, their traditional ways, and much of their land. Yet in the same years the Klamath have also acquired and learned much, and it would have been unaccountably strange had they not. The growth of mill and market towns and of ranching and farming settlements, the development of the lumber industry, the constant if irritating supervision and tutelage of the Agency, the improvement of communications, the frequency of inter-marriage and co-residence with non-Klamath, their participation in public education facilities, all of these and other experiences have given new directions to Klamath life, so that today no Klamath lives a life remotely resembling that of his ancestors of a century ago. Yet these years of contact and change have not made White men of the Klamath. Instead, there has developed a variant socio-cultural system, Klamath Reservation Culture, which is neither aboriginal nor American in design.

Although much of the agricultural resources of the reservation have been transferred to White ownership, a number of the contemporary Klamath are successful farmers or ranchers. Others occupy homesteads on farm or ranch land but do not utilize these resources. These latter homesteads are little more than rural slums, the scenes of perennial drinking parties. For decades the timber industry has been the mainstay of the local economy, but relatively few Klamath have ever worked in that industry. Most Klamath live in one or another of the several

Most Klamath live in one or another of the several towns and settlements on the reservation, or else they have settled elsewhere, in Portland, Salem, Eugene, in California, in Alaska, in the Midwest, or along the Atlantic seaboard. In 1955 the Tribe had 2118 members, and of these 40 percent lived away from the reservation (Stern & Swanson 1960). Partly because of the recent progress of the termination of federal supervision of the reservation, by this date the percentage of members residing off the reservation has probably increased. In fact, for years there have been numerous "tribal members" with no experience whatsoever of reservation life.

Throughout the years of White contact inter-marriage and inter-breeding have been frequent. Today, more than 70 percent of the Tribe's members are, genetically, less than one-half "Indian," and less than one sixth are "full-bloods." Many are indistinguishable in appearance from their White neighbors, as most are not easily distinguished in dress and language.

The isolation of the early reservation period was soon removed by the influx of White settlers, who at first took up farms and started towns near the fringes of the reservation. Through inter-marriage and through the consequences of allotment of land to individual Klamath, many Whites were soon residing within the reservation's boundaries, either on the lands of a spouse, or on land bought or leased from tribal members. Another source of change were the ever present efforts of Agency officials to make over aboriginal ways, and later, the rapid growth of the lumber industry and the development of full fledged frontier communities were also important sources of acculturative influences. In quick succession the Klamath experienced a period of armed conflict (the Modoc War of 1872-73), a religious revivalistic movement such as that which swept the plains area, extensive governmental planning and intervention, the allotment of land in severalty, and a growing participation in the cash economy. Because aboriginal Klamath values had stressed achieved status for those who worked to accumulate wealth and property, for some Klamath the early period of contact provided increased opportunities, and there was a group of men who for a time were effective entrepreneurs. It was through such personal efforts and through the "easy money" had from private sales or the leasing of agricultural lands, from pro rata shares of boundary settlements, and from per capita payments for sales of tribal timber that the Klamath made the transition to a money economy.

The participation in and contribution of the Klamath to the economy of the region is a significant point of interchange between Klamath and White, and one with many ramifications. In considerable measure, the local timber industry prospers or slumps, depending on the allotted cut in the tribal forest. Similarly, local merchants are somewhat dependent upon the assured income of tribal members, as they are upon the purchases of mill workers, fallers, and cat-skinners. The major town on the reservation, Chiloquin, obtains the largest share of its revenue from sales at a municipally owned beer-hall and from the fines and forfeited bails paid by visitors to the city jail, both of which establishments are patronized largely by Klamath.

In other aspects of community life the participation of Klamath is perhaps best characterized as that of passive spectators. Many Klamath have come to have a sense of being aliens in the heterogeneous local culture, although there is a small assimilated minority.

Thus Klamath may interact as equals in card rooms and pool hall, and are met with a stereotyped "friendliness" in interactions in stores and on the street. However, the great majority live in intimate interdependence separate from the main currents of White social life. White ethnic exclusiveness is reflected

White ethnic exclusiveness is reflected in minimal Klamath participation in formal organizations, lodges, political groups, scouts, and various clubs. Elite groups such as the Masons are exclusively White, while the elite Methodist church contains a single Klamath member. In the century of contact few Klamath have held elective office outside the tribal structure, and although a high percentage have registered, very few vote in local, state, or national elections. The dual structure of local communities is best reflected in the sharp division of networks of friendships and home visiting, White on the one hand, Klamath on the other. Clearly, the place and role of the Klamath is a special one.

Their special status has numerous implications. For years, to obtain their drinking liquor the Klamath had to turn to bootleggers, a legal disability which was removed only in 1951. Local law enforcement has sometimes been difficult due to dual or conflicting jurisdictions, and jurisdiction over major crimes committed by Klamath was given over to the state of Oregon in 1953. The land holdings of Klamath property owners, because of their special status, are frequently tax exempt, as have been their per capita payments. Simultaneously, the Klamath have exhibited little constructive concern with local affairs. As was noted, their contribution to the community takes a special form. In Chiloquin during a typical year arrests of tribal members amounted to 70 percent of the total, and they also paid 70 percent of all fines and forfeited bails and performed 96 percent of all trustee labor (Stern & Swanson 1960). The wardship status has, however, suffered gradual attrition, and in 1954 the passage of Public Law 587 began the final termination of federal supervision of the tribe, and the dissolution of the reservation.

Under PL 587 the Klamath were allowed the choice of remaining within a reconstituted "Klamath Tribe," with a corporate structure and assets to be administered by a trustee, or they had the choice of withdrawing and of receiving a pro rata share of tribal assets. In a later election, about 77 percent of the membership elected the latter, and chose to withdraw. However, the control of the new "tribe's" assets and the fact that many persons who withdrew have been designated as "in need of assistance" indicates that although federal supervision has been ended, the control and intervention of Whites has not.

The separation of Whites and Klamath in local communities is by no means entirely due to White attitudes of exclusiveness or to overt discrimination. Individual Klamath have shown an equally noncommittal relationship to tribal affairs. Attendance at tribal meetings has been very low in spite of numerous inducements such as free bar-b-ques. In General Council meetings (and tribal affairs, generally) the conduct of business is marked by extensive and endemic factionalism, delays, repetitious debate, failure to resolve or even to state issues, and pointless, lingering sessions. Here is one place, outside of the telling of a ripe but dirty joke, that one may hear the Klamath language used; but it is used as a tool to beat down an opposing tribal member who does not understand it. Though the General Council and the Tribe are symbolic of a corporate separateness and of a Klamath identity, this minimal participation and the distrust of the ability of tribal leaders to manage the tribe's resources weakens them as systems of action.

Klamath families are another important locus of loyalty and identification. The household or domestic group itself averages about four members, but there are many single male households and many domestic groups headed by women. The latter is symptomatic of the instability of the marriage tie. Marriage, in the legal sense, is itself approximated in frequency by common-law unions and more temporary "shack-jobs." Probably one-third of all Klamath women have

882 drop out rate of Klamath adolescents, a slacking of attention, and a decline
155 in test performance and grades.
156

871 Something of the character of adult Klamath concerns and behaviors has already
156 been suggested. Many work in only a desultory, disinterested fashion, and it is unusual for a Klamath woman to have a full-time job. Thus self-concepts are
[461] not so closely bound to job or profession as are those of local Whites. In
434 1953, for example, it was found that 65% of adult Klamath were wholly or partly dependent upon per capita payments for their livelihood. Whereas the reluctance
[462] of Klamath women to take outside work reflects the pressures on them to remain in the home and the extent of their responsibilities there, it also reflects the fairly secure economic position resulting from the special benefits of tribal membership. Aside from the twice-yearly per capita payments, these benefits include the privilege of year round hunting and fishing, medical care, loan services, tax exemptions on land and privileged employment rights at the Agency.
[464] On the other side of the coin, outside of the Agency, the principal local employers are Whites, and for one reason or another they are very reluctant to hire tribal members. In historical perspective, the development of tribal income paid out in the form of per capita payments has paralleled the decline of Klamath participation in the labor market. The contemporary Klamath do not work so often nor do they work so steadily as did their parents and grandparents. There are fewer Klamath loggers now than there were in the past, almost no business men now, and fewer active ranchers and farmers.

434 In spite of shifting policies and personnel, the influence of the Klamath Agency
657 officials has been one of constant supervision over and intervention into the affairs of Klamath individuals and groups. The controls over the expenditures of children's funds was noted, and the same controls are exercised with respect
[241] to those tribal members who have been deemed incompetent. Yet the activities of stable ranchers and farmers have also been supervised by extension workers,
[654] and efficient, prospering Klamath farmers complain that, with a good price decided on and a buyer waiting, they have to await the approval of an extension worker. Thus the adequacy of Klamath individuals is frequently in doubt, whether by experience with a particular tribal member's high style of living, or by policy.
657 At the same time in many ways the Klamath have been protected from responsibility
426 for their own actions. Payment for debts incurred with local merchants is an example, for the reservation being under federal jurisdiction, goods unpaid for could not be repossessed, nor could income be garnisheed. As Stern and Swanson phrase this situation, the Klamath have attained economic security "attended by supervision."

657 Of course, through constant experience with Agency personnel and policy the
829 Klamath have learned that bureaucratic restrictions may be evaded or circumvented, and they have long since acquired knowledge of the appropriate manner of phrasing a request for funds or services. The Klamath complain of this that forced contact with the Agency has made liars out of them.

648 In summary, little more than a century of contact has merged the originally
177 distinct Klamath, Modoc, and Paiute, and has altered them physically, culturally,
171 and personally. In spite of a small assimilated minority and a large off-reservation population, the reservation Klamath exhibit a distinct way of life
657 which is novel if heterogeneous. This Klamath Reservation Culture is the familiar context of everyday experience for contemporary tribal members. Thus
181 it is the source of what stability and security they know. No matter how variant, or how disorganized this pattern of life may be, it is one whose outlines are the consequence of the thousands of daily decisions, the many lines of action,

Fidel: Male, Age 10

Background Data

*159 156 [461] [891] [592] [434] [657] Fidel's case is that of a young man in the process of separating himself from his family, yet without any clear sense of where he wants to go. He has never worked at any job, although he quit school in the 10th grade, when he was sixteen. Except for 8 months residence in the San Francisco area with his family, and five school years spent in a Catholic boarding school, he has never lived away from the reservation. He is the third eldest of six children. He presently lives at home, if the household which contains himself, his parents, and his younger siblings may be called that. As an unmarried minor approaching maturity, his tribal income is administered by a trust officer who allocates to Fidel $110.00 monthly for spending money. Additionally, Fidel sends bills for various expenses to the bank, which pays them. These arrangements have been in force for three years.

[733] [582] *[418] [221] Fidel's mother is a somewhat confused, defeated, semi-alcoholic who is very reserved when sober and gay and promiscuous when drunk. His father is a Skagit Indian who has for years been steadily employed as a cat skinner for a logging company, which work keeps him away from home for months at a time. During the logging slack season, his father is only occasionally at home. He is usually away hunting or fishing. When he is at home he is frequently drunk, and when drunk characteristically assaults his wife and berates his children. The father does not contribute to the income, the up-keep, or the conduct of household affairs. [593] In recent years Fidel has defended his mother and the children from his father, on several occasions has driven him from the house, and on one occasion knocked him cold with a rifle butt. There is some doubt as to whether this person is actually Fidel's father, the doubt being due to his mother's promiscuity, [848] which is of long standing, and to Fidel's almost total rejection of him. *159 156 593 Fidel's relations with his father illustrate his marked and extensive ambivalence towards most personal relationships. He will call him or refer to him as "father" or "dad" and in the next breath "uncle," at one moment praise his skill at hunting, and the next deride him. Fidel cannot fully accept any relationship; he exhibits the same ambivalence towards his mother, his siblings, his closest friends, girls, and so on. Moreover, Fidel cannot undertake any course of action without doubt and reservations. He can neither love nor hate fully.

[421] Fidel's family life is marked by a complete lack of cohesion, cooperation, common activity, and common property. The major shared sentiment is an indifference to one another. Each member occupies a part of the house where he keeps his belongings, and these are rarely shared. For example, Clifton once needed a rifle for a hunting trip. It was borrowed directly from the father; Fidel could not borrow it for him. A major source of difficulty is intra-family theft, which engenders violent reactions. The mother is psychologically divorced from the father, and strongly oriented towards her eldest, married daughter with whom she spends much time.

*159 156 [673] [512] Fidel thinks of himself as a guide and skillful hunter, insofar as he thinks of himself as anything. On several occasions he has been in trouble with the law, usually for drag racing or drinking when a minor. He spends his time loafing about, watching TV, playing pool, fishing, hunting, visiting with his buddies, and sleeping. He is seldom in bed before 1 AM, and equally seldom awake before two or three PM. His main ambition is to get out of the area, away from his family, and off by himself. He has thought about studying art, which may result from an identification with a friend who is doing so.

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

THE HOME OF THE PEOPLE.

131 The home of the Klamath tribe of southwestern Oregon lies upon the
657 eastern slope of the southern extremity of the Cascade Range, and very
648 nearly coincides with what we may call the headwaters of the Klamath River, the main course of which lies in Northern California. Its limits are outlined in a general manner in the first paragraph of the treaty concluded between the Federal Government and the Indians, dated October 14, 1864, which runs as follows: "The Indians cede all the country included between the water-shed of the Cascade Mountains to the mountains dividing Pit and McCloud Rivers from the waters on the north; thence along this water-shed eastwards to the southern end of Goose Lake; thence northeast to the southern end of Harney Lake;* thence due north to the forty-fourth degree of latitude; thence west along this same degree to Cascade Range." It must be remarked that the homes and hunting-grounds of two "bands" of the Snake Indians were included within these limits, for these people were also made participants to the treaty.

Here, as with all other Indian tribes, the territory claimed must be divided into two parts, the districts inclosing their habitual dwelling-places and those embodying their hunting and fishing grounds, the latter being of course much larger than the former and inclosing them. The habitual haunts and dwelling-places of the tribes were on the two Klamath Lakes, on Klamath Marsh, on Tule Lake, and on Lost River. Some of these localities are inclosed within the Klamath Reservation, of which we will speak below.

133 The Cascade Range is a high mountain ridge following a general direction from north to south, with some deflections of its main axis. The line of perpetual snow is at least 10,000 feet above the sea-level, and the altitude of the highest peaks about 12,000 to 14,000 feet. On the west side the sloping is more gradual than on the east side, where abrupt precipices and steep slopes border the Klamath highlands and the valley of Des Chutes River. The range is the result of upheaval and enormous volcanic

* Harney Lake is the western portion of Malheur Lake, and now united with it into a single sheet of water.

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

one in a series of similar butcheries. Apparently it occurred in 1852, and the particulars are all given in Texts, pages 13 and 14.

One of the earliest reports upon these tribes made to the Bureau of Indian Affairs at Washington is that of Joel Palmer, Superintendent of Indian Affairs for Oregon, dated Dayton, Oregon, September 11, 1854. Palmer states that the lands of the Klamath Indians extend upon the eastern base of the Cascade range for about thirty miles east, and that east of them live the "Mo-docks," who speak the same language as the Klamaths; and east of these again, extending farther south, are the "Mo-e-twas" (Pit River Indians). These two last-named tribes have always evinced a deadly hostility to the whites, and the Modocs boasted of having within the last four years murdered thirty-six whites. Palmer entered into an agreement with the Klamath Indians to keep the peace with the white people, and also sent messengers to the Modocs and Pit Rivers, believing that henceforth the immigrants would be spared from their attacks. The Klamath Lakes were then enfeebled by wars with the surrounding tribes and by conflicts among themselves, and were said to number but four hundred and fifteen souls. He counted seven villages on Upper Klamath Lake, two on Pliock Creek (P'laíkni or Sprague River), three on Toqua Lake (Túkua), and one on Coasto (Kohásht) Lake.* The Indians had some guns, horses, camp equipage, and the aboriginal war-club and "elk-skin shield" (kaknō'lsh). Little Klamath Lake he calls An-coose, a corruption of Agáwesh.

Neither Klamath Lake nor Modoc Indians have taken any part in the great Oregon war of 1854–'56, although their sympathies were of course strongly in favor of the aboriginal cause.

For the year 1854 Powers records a battle fought by Captain Judy against Modoc and Shasti Indians on the Klamath River, north of Yreka, in which some women of the Shasti were killed.

The Report of 1859 speaks of continued hostilities on the side of the Modocs against passing immigrants and of the murdering of a party of five white men in Jackson County, Oregon. Two of the murderers belonged to the tribe of Chief Lelékash, and three of the perpetrators were seized and killed by the Klamath Indians (page 392).

* This would make only six, not seven, villages.

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

175 622 Alexander S. Taylor has the following passage in his "California Farmer" of June 22, 1860: "Cumtukus, Lalacks, Schonches, and Tertupkark are names of chiefs among Klamath Lake Indians of the Oukskenah tribe. The big Klamath Lake is called Toakwa." Except the first, the above head-men were all identified in the Dictionary with the well-known names of Lelékash, Skóntchish (a Modoc chief) and Tatápkaksh. Cumtukni, who died about 1866, is mentioned by Stephen Powers as a great orator, prophet, and rain-maker.†

175 ● 648 726 Whether the two incursions made upon the Klamath Lake people by the Rogue River Indians of Tinné lineage, across the Cascade range, of which detailed accounts were furnished in our Texts by Dave Hill, took place about 1855 or earlier I have not the means of ascertaining. The Lake tribe were not slow in inflicting vengeance upon the attacking party, for they crossed the mountain pass and fell upon the camps of their enemies, making sad havoc among them.

Frequent disputes and encounters occurred between the two chieftaincies and the *Shasti Indians* around Yreka, California; but the warlike qualities of the latter were often too strong for the aggressors, and the conflicts were not very bloody.† With the Pit River or Móatwash tribe the matter was different. They were not, like the Shasti, possessed of the warrior spirit, and therefore had to suffer terribly from the annual raids perpetrated upon them. In April and May the Klamath Lakes and Modocs would surround the camps, kill the men, and abduct the women and children to their homes, or sell them into slavery at the international bartering place at The Dalles. Some of these raids were provoked by horse-stealing, others by greed for gain and plunder, and the aggressors never suffered heavily thereby. When they began is not known, but the treaty of 1864 000 put an end to them. The recitals in the Texts, pages 19–27 and 54, 55,

* Overland Monthly, 1873, June number, page 540. His appearance had something fascinating for the Indians, and some are said to have traveled two hundred miles to consult him. His name appears to be Kúmétakni="coming from a cave," or "living in a cave."

† One of these fights took place between the Shasti, Modoc, and Trinity River Indians for the possession o an obsidian quarry north of Shasta Butte, mentioned by B. B. Redding in American Naturalist, XIII, p. 668, et seq., and Archiv f. Anthropologie, XIV, p. 425.

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000 give us graphic sketches of these intertribal broils. Some of the eastern Pit Rivers seem to have lived on friendly terms with the Modocs; but the bands farther south, especially the Hot Spring and Big Valley Indians, were the principal sufferers by these incursions. In a raid of 1857 fifty-six of their women and children were enslaved and sold on the Columbia River for Cayuse ponies, one squaw being rated at five or six horses and a boy one horse.*

The Pit River Indians were a predatory tribe also, and very dangerous to the immigrants passing through their country to northwestern Oregon. Their continued depredations made it a duty of the Government to inflict upon them a heavy chastisement, and Maj. Gen. George Crook, commanding the Colorado Department of the United States Army, was intrusted with its execution. This campaign of 1867 is described by him as follows:†

> I continued the campaign into the Pit River country with Company H, First Cavalry, Lieutenant Parnelle; Company D, Twenty-third Infantry, Lieutenant Madigan, First Cavalry, commanding; and Archie McIntosh, with his twenty Fort Boisé Indian scouts. We found on Pit River a party of warriors in camp. They fled. The next day we discovered a large party of warriors in the bluffs on the river. We had a severe fight, lasting two days and nights. They effected their escape by means of holes and crevices in the ground. A great many were killed, among whom were some of note; how many could not be ascertained. Our loss was Lieutenant Madigan and three men killed, and eight soldiers and one citizen wounded.

The more unruly portion of these Indians were subsequently removed to the Round Valley Reservation, California, and about two hundred are still in their old homes.

175 Between the Klamaths and the neighboring Snake tribes there was
• 648 always a sort of disaffection, based upon difference of race, language, and habits; but whether their earlier relations were always those of open hostility or not is past finding out.‡ The wording of the treaty makes it probable that the hunting grounds north and east of their present seats on Sprague River were shared in common by both, and that the Snake Indians frequently

[113]

*Alex. S. Taylor, "California Farmer," May, 1859.

†Report of the Secretary of War, 1868–'69, Part I, p. 69, dated August 22, 1867. Stephen Powers refers to this fight in Contributions III, p. 268.

‡One of the Texts, p. 28, shows that the Snakes in one instance attacked and massacred in a very cowardly way some women near the outlet of Williamson River.

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175 changed their settlements, as hunting nations are in the habit of doing.
• 648 Thus Pauline Marsh, near Silver Lake, and Pauline Lake, on one of the head springs of Des Chutes River, were both named after the Snake chief Panaína of our Texts. The bands established upon the Reservation since the treaty was concluded are called Walpapi and Yahushkin. At first they ran off and committed depredations in the vicinity, whereupon the Government was compelled to force them back. General Crook made several expeditions in the execution of the task. These campaigns were short and decisive, and the Klamath Lake scouts engaged in them did good service, as evidenced by General Crook's reports* and Dave Hill's Text, pages 28–33. Upon the defeat and killing of Panaína, the Walpapi chief, the tribe finally quieted down and remained neutral in the commotion caused by the Modoc war of 1872–'73.

175 No indications are at hand of the number of Indians formerly inhabit-
161 ing the headwaters of the Klamath River. Before the first census was
164 taken estimates deserving no credence were made, varying from one thousand to two thousand Indians. In those times the scourges of small-pox, syphilis, and whisky did not inflict such terrible ravages as they do now among the Indians; but instead of these the continual tribal quarrels, family vengeance, the ordeals of witchcraft, dearth of food, and the inhuman treatment of the females must have claimed many more victims than at
[563] present. Emigration and intermarriages with other tribes were rather the
[167] exception than the rule, and are so even now.

THE TREATY OF 1864.

175 During the ten years following Wright's massacre the country began
648 to assume a somewhat different aspect through the agricultural and stock-raising settlements of white people that sprung up in Lost River Valley, around Little Klamath Lake and in other places. The cession of lands to the "Oregon Central Military Road Company" from Eugene City, in Willámet Valley, through the Cascade range, across the Klamath Marsh, to

[113] * Contained in the Report of the Secretary of War, 1868–'69, Part I, pp 69, 70, dated September 2, 1867, and March 19, 1868. The troops killed twenty-four Snake Indians in the expedition of 1867. See also Texts, Note to 28, 14.

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175 Warner Lake, and thence to the boundary of Idaho, with its "six miles
648 limit" grants on both sides, took place before the conclusion of the treaty.

In order to subject the troublesome Snake and Modoc tribes to a stricter control, and to secure more protection to settlers and the immigrants traveling through Oregon, Fort Klamath was established north of Upper Klamath Lake, in Lake County, and garrisoned with several companies, who were of great service in preserving order in these sparsely inhabited tracts. The Klamath Lake Indians were more inclined to keep up friendship with the white people than the other tribes, nevertheless some turbulent characters among them necessitated military restraint.

The Superintendent of Indian Affairs of the Northern District of California, Judge E. Steele, adjusted some grave difficulties between the Shasti and the Máklaks Indians, which threatened to break out into a terrible war of devastation against the Shasti and the white settlers alike. Some of the Máklaks "braves" had been killed upon the lands of white settlers, and the injured Indians had begun retaliation already. Colonel Drew, stationed at Fort Klamath (who fought marauding bands of Shoshoni and Bannocks during the summer of 1864), had arrested and executed "Captain" George, a Klamath Lake chief, for criminal acts, and killed an Indian commonly known as Skukum John. The chiefs and some representative Indians of the contending tribes met Judge Steele near Yreka, California, on February 14, 1864, and for some trifling consideration agreed to forego all further hostilities among themselves, to allow free passage to anybody traveling through their territories, and to maintain terms of friendship with all whites, negroes, and Chinese. The Modocs also made the special promise to harass no longer the Pit River Indians by annual raids. It also appears from Mr. Steele's allocution to the Indians that they had been selling to whites and others Indian children of their own and of other tribes, and also squaws, the latter mainly for the purpose of prostitution.*

The establishment of Fort Klamath, the increase of white men's settlements, the possibility of Indian outbreaks on account of the greater vicinity of the farms to the Indian villages, and the desire of the Indians themselves to obtain rations, supplies, and annuities brought the opportunity of a

* Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1864, pp. 84, 85 and 108–110.

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175 treaty with these Indians more forcibly before the Government than ever
648 before. In compliance with instructions from Indian Commissioner William P. Dole, Superintendent J. W. Perit Huntington, accompanied by Agent Logan, went through the Des Chutes Valley to Fort Klamath, and found there a large number of Indians of both sexes assembled, seven hundred and ten of whom were Klamath Lake, three hundred and thirty-nine Modoc people, and twenty-two of the Yahuskin band of Snake Indians. They unanimously concurred in the desire that Lindsey Applegate, a settler of Jackson County, Oregon, be appointed as their agent. The treaty was concluded on the 14th of October, 1864, and duly signed by the contracting parties, including twenty-six chiefs and principal men of the tribes. Huntington's estimate of funds necessary for fulfilling treaty stipulations and subsisting the Indians the first year amounted to a total of $69,400. The text of the treaty being too long for insertion entire, I restrict myself here to the contents of the principal paragraphs:

175 Article 1 stipulates the cession of the territory described above (p. xvi),
648 and sets apart as a *reservation* for the tribes referred to the tract included
657 within the limits following: Beginning upon the Point of Rocks, about twelve miles south of the mouth of Williamson River,* the boundary follows the eastern shore north to the mouth of Wood River; thence up Wood River to a point one mile north of the bridge at Fort Klamath; thence due east to the summit of the ridge which divides the upper and middle Klamath Lakes (now called Klamath Marsh and Upper Klamath Lake); thence along said ridge to a point due *east* of the north end of the upper lake; thence due east, passing the said north end of the upper lake to the summit of the mountains on the east side of the lake; thence along said mountain to the point where Sprague's River is intersected by the Ish-tish-ea-wax Creek (probably Meryl Creek); then in a southerly direction to the summit of the mountain, the extremity of which forms the Point of Rocks; thence along said mountain to the place of beginning. The tribes will remove to this reservation immediately after the ratification of the treaty and remain thereon. No whites, except employés and officers of the United States Government, are allowed to reside upon this tract, and the Indians have

*At the foot of Nilakshi Mountain.

175 the exclusive right of taking fish and gathering edible roots, seeds, and
• 648 berries within the reservation. Provision is made by which the right of
657 way for public roads and railroads across said reservation is reserved to citizens of the United States.

Article 2. As a payment for the ceded lands the Indians shall receive $8,000 per annum for a period of five years, $5,000 per annum for the next five years, and the sum of $3,000 per annum for the five years next succeeding.

Article 3 provides for the payment of $35,000 for removing the Indians to the reservation, subsisting them during the first year, and providing them with clothing, teams, tools, seeds, etc.

[313] Articles 4 and 5 provide for the establishment of a saw-mill, a flouring-
[256] mill, a manual-labor school, and hospital buildings, all to be maintained
[874] and supplied with working material at the expense of the United States for
[783] the period of twenty years. Employés for running these establishments shall be paid and housed by the Government also.

[423] Article 6 reserves the right to the Government to provide each Indian family with lands in severalty to the extent of forty to one hundred and twenty acres, and to guarantee possession to them. Indians are not allowed to alienate these lands.

Article 9. The Indians acknowledge their dependence upon the Government of the United States, and pledge themselves to be friendly with all citizens thereof, to commit no depredations upon the persons or property of said citizens, and to refrain from carrying on any war upon other Indian tribes.

[273] Article 10 prohibits the sale and use of liquors upon the Reservation, and Article 11 permits the Government to locate other Indian tribes thereon, the parties to this treaty not losing any rights thereby.

The treaty was proclaimed February 17, 1870.

Like most of the treaties concluded between the United States Government and the Indian tribes, this compact was made much more to the advantage of the white man than of his red brother. Not only were the stipulated annuities rather small for a body of Indians, which was then considered to number about two thousand people, but these annuities were

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177 764 cemetery was inaugurated between the Williamson River and Modoc Point, one mile and a half south of the bridge.

175 648 657 797 President U. S. Grant's peace policy in regard to the Indians was inaugurated by act of Congress dated April 10, 1869. The supervision of the Indian agencies was placed in the hands of the authorities of religious denominations, a board of commissioners appointed,* and the spiritual interests of that reservation turned over to the Methodist Church.

SCIENTIFIC RESEARCHES ON THESE INDIANS.

114 The study of the ethnography of a tribe usually precedes that of its language; sometimes both are pursued simultaneously, and this is undoubtedly the correct method. In the case of the Máklaks, Horatio Hale,† the linguist of Ch. Wilkes's United States Exploring Expedition (1838–1842), and still holding forth as a pioneer in his lines of research, took down a vocabulary from a Klamath Lake Indian whom he met on the Columbia River in 1841. No ethnographic remarks upon the tribe accompany this vocabulary, probably because information obtained from interpreters, who speak the Chinook jargon only, is notoriously unreliable.

Next in time follow the extensive explorations of John Charles Frémont‡ of the interior basin west of the Rocky Mountains and of the Pacific coast from 1843 to 1844, and again from 1845 to 1846, during which the Klamath Lakes and Klamath Marsh were visited and explored. His reports contain graphic sketches of all that was seen and observed by his parties; but scientific accuracy is often wanting, and many countries are described without giving the Indian local names, which are indispensable to identification.

The acquisition of the Pacific coast by the United States (California in 1846, Oregon in 1848) naturally suggested projects of connecting the two oceans by a transcontinental railroad, starting from the Mississippi River and reaching to the Bay of San Francisco. The Central Govern-

* Cf. Revised Statutes of the United States, second edition, 1878, p. 359.

† Born in Newport, New Hampshire, in 1817.

‡ Born at Savannah, Georgia, January 21, 1813; candidate for the Presidency of the United States in 1856; died in New York City, July 13, 1890.

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that these explorations were the starting-point of all further researches upon the Pacific coast, and as such they are creditable to the men with whom and the epoch at which they originated.

The topographic map of the Klamath headwaters is now being prepared by the U. S. Geological Survey. It is laid out upon a scale of 1 to 250,000, with contour intervals of 200 feet, the rivers and water sheets in blue. The sheets are named as follows: Ashland, Klamath,* Shasta, Modoc Lava Bed, Alturas—the last three belonging to California. The surveys were made from 1883 to 1887 by Henry Gannett, chief geographer, A. H. Thompson, geographer in charge; triangulation by the George M. Wheeler survey, by Mark B. Kerr; and topography, by Eugene Ricksecker and partly by Mark B. Kerr.

THE MODOC WAR OF 1872–1873.

The well-known maxim, "it is cheaper to feed the Indians than to fight them," has forced itself upon the governments of all American countries in such indelible characters that it has become a rule for them to conclude treaties with the different "nations" to keep them at peace, feed them by rations or annuities, and confine them within the limits of certain territories. The treaty of 1864 was not attended by all the favorable results expected. The Snake Indians ran off from the Reservation during April, 1866, the Modocs in 1865. The latter tribe were not compelled to leave their old domain, now ceded to the United States, till 1869. Moreover, it always takes several years to gather straying Indians upon a reservation after a treaty has become an accomplished fact. The Superintendent of Indian Affairs in Oregon, Mr. Meacham, on December 30, 1869, after a long and excited "talk," succeeded in bringing two hundred and fifty-eight Modocs to Modoc Point, upon the reservation allotted to them. On April 26, 1870, the supply of rations was exhausted, and the more obstinate half of the tribe left the Reservation again for the old domain upon Lost River and the lakes, whereas the other half, under Skóntchish, went to Yáneks, on Sprague River, where the Superintendent located them. All Modocs

* The name for the sheet east of Klamath has not yet been determined.

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000 could not remain unpunished. Brought before a jury at Fort Klamath, Kíntpuash, Chief Skóntchish, Black or Húka Jim, and Boston Charley were condemned to the gallows and hung at the Fort October 3, 1873, while two accessories to the deed—Bántcho and Slû'lks (now George Denny)—were condemned to incarceration at Fort Alcatraz, San Francisco Bay.*

Thus ended the long-contested struggle of the little Modoc band against the Oregon and California volunteers and the regular troops of the United States Army. Certainly the heroism and ingenuity displayed by the Modocs would have been worthy of a better cause, and would have passed down to posterity in the brightest colors of patriotism had not the murderous "entreacte" and Canby's death deprived the struggle of its heroic luster. The unworthy termination of this war is well typified by the fact that the skeleton of the Modoc captain is now dangling as an anatomical specimen in the museum of the Surgeon-General's Office, at Washington, District of Columbia.

STATISTICS.

648 From the end of the Modoc war to the present year the condition of
177 affairs has not changed much in the Klamath Highlands. The reports of
178 the United States agent repeat the same story of progress towards civiliza-
657 tion every year; but in view of the difficulty of bringing a hunter tribe into the high road of Christian culture and industrial progress we can not attach much credence to such reports so long as they are couched in generalities and do not contain special facts attesting mental improvement by schooling.

648 In agriculture success is possible only in the Sprague River Valley,
657 but pasturing will succeed almost on every spot of the Reservation. The
[241] report of 1888, compared with that of 1880, shows a considerable improve-
[231] ment in this direction. The 2,500 horses and mules counted in 1880 had increased to 4,532 in 1888; the 200 head of cattle to 2,201. In the latter year the number of swine figured 208, of domestic fowl, 1,000. Of the 20,000 tillable acres of land 1,400 were cultivated by the Indians in

* Slû'lks was released, and stays now at the Modoc Reservation, Indian Territory, with Scarface Charley and some other warriors of that war.

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1888 and 500 broken by them; 10,000 acres were inclosed by fences. The crops of 1888 amounted to 8,000 bushels of wheat, 4,000 of oats and barley, 1,000 bushels of vegetables, 3,000 tons of hay; and 500 pounds of butter were manufactured. Of lumber 100,000 feet were sawed. The Indians transported with their own teams 500 tons of freight, and thereby earned $1,500. The two boarding-schools, one at the Klamath Agency and the other at Yáneks, in the same year boarded 215 pupils at a cost to the Government of $18,764—about $10.40 a month per capita.

The number of acres contained within the Klamath Reservation is 1,056,000, and of these only about 20,000 acres are considered to be tillable land. The rest is occupied by woods, marshes, rocks, and other hindrances to cultivation.

The school and church interests are in the hands of the Methodist Episcopal Church, which also has a vote in the appointment of the United States agent.

The statistics of population have furnished reliable data only from the time when annuities were first distributed among these Indians. This necessitated an annual count of each family, giving the number of the individuals belonging to each. One of these was made during my presence on the reserve on October 30, 1877, before the winter supplies were dealt out to the tribe. The summary is as follows:

David Hill, chief, at Agency and on Williamson River	225
P'lá, head chief, at the bridge, Williamson River	122
Long John, chief	103
Jack, chief	92
Llo, chief	23
Total	565

The census taken in the Sprague River Valley, Yáneks subagency, furnished the following figures, Klamath Lake Indians and Modocs being indiscriminately included:

Littlejohn, chief	14
Skóntchish, chief	18
Modoc Johnson, head chief	71
Ben, chief	61
Brown, chief	30
Total	194

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173 selluálshuk. Ndánnitaksni taměnō'tka; tiná nat káyak shenótankatk,
fighting. Three times I was there; once we not at all were fighting.
*539 kínkák i nat lúluagala. Tchín at nat at gü'tak ndáni támēnotk.
726 few only there we enslaved. So I, when we quit (fighting), three times had been there.

NOTES.

[197] 19. The long and fertile valley of the Pit River, an eastern affluent of the Sacramento River, is inhabited by several tribes of Indians who speak dialects of the same language family. Of the peculiarities of these tribes, Stephen Powers has given the first comprehensive sketch in the Overland Monthly, 1874, pp. 412–416, and in Contributions to North American Ethnology, vol. III, pp. 267–274. The various tribes greatly differ in their physical and mental qualities. The Pacamallies, on Hat Creek, at the lower end of the valley, were much dreaded by peaceable travellers on account of their sudden attacks from an ambush. The Indians in Big Valley are a fleshy, stout, and physically well-made people, while the Hot Spring Valley people has become deteriorated through prolonged national misfortune. Against both of these the slaving raids of the Klamaths and Modocs were mainly directed.

[721] [567] [727] 19, 2. The raids were undertaken by the Klamaths and Modocs just before wókash-time; that is, in April and May. They had no other purpose than to make slaves of the females and children of the unwarlike, poor, and suffering Pit River Indians, and to keep them either at their homes or sell them for ponies, provisions, beads, etc., at the Dalles to the Columbia River tribes. Adult men were not enslaved, but killed outright if captured. Similar instances of suppression of weaker tribes of the West by warlike Indians who were their neighbors are those of the Kayuses on Middle Columbia River, of the Yuki between Sacramento River and the Pacific Ocean, of the Húpa on Trinity River, Cal., all of whom were, at the advent of the whites, the terror of the districts surrounding their homes.

[648] 19, 3. shlüótak for shlüóta ak; the Pit Rivers ran away at the *mere sight* of the Klamath men; ká-i tata siúkat, the Pit Rivers never killed any Klamath men. Both statements are exaggerations; Hill's own account and Toby Riddle's biographic notice tend to prove the contrary.

[727] 19, 3. nellínat, or neli'nat. When they had killed an enemy, they did not follow the custom of the Oregonians of taking the scalp. This custom is not found among any of the Central Californian tribes.

[193] 19, 4. hû'stchok-huya; by the suffix -huya, -uya, the action of the verb is shown to take place at intervals, or in a small degree. "They did only little damage by killing or massacring." Cf. shenótank-huya, 20, 2, and -uya in the "List of Suffixes".

[196] 19, 4. tû'm tát sa. Change of the subjects introduced by the pronoun sha, sa, in consecutive sentences, is sometimes observed, as here and in 19, 16; 20, 3. Hill often uses sha when speaking of the Klamath Lake men, where nat, *we*, would be more appropriate.

[193] 19, 6. Kitchkanin nû for kitchkáni nû (or ni) nû. Pronouns and particles are repeated quite frequently.

19, 11. Wúksalka is a camping-place distant about six miles from Linkville. It was not possible for me to obtain definite information about the trail followed most generally in those raids, but Dave Hill said that from there they went due south. He

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173 *539 726 was born about the year 1840, and since he was a boy then, carrying only a pistol, this raid may have taken place about the year 1858. His second raid, which was undertaken the year afterward, was made when he was nearly twenty years old. After this he stayed five years in Oregon City, on the Lower Willámet River.

19, 16, and 20, 1. What is said here up to the word snawä'ds is evidently an anticipation of what follows in 20, 6. 7.

[192] 19, 16. sas tillindsa, or shash tilíndsha: shash is apposition to wéwanuish, which stands here, as frequently, for wewannúshash; 23, 5, we find: wewánúshash.

20, 2. lápik for lápi gi: "two are, two were."

[487] 20, 9. Tiunŏ'leshtat. The distance between Klamath Marsh and the Pit River country was estimated at three days' Indian travel; but it often took four days to reach there on horseback.

[192] 20, 10 and 11. maklakakaákai refers to the encampment and immediate surroundings of the Indian captors, the Klamath Lake men and the Modocs, who had gone with them.

[487] 20, 13. guhnáshktcha. They seem to have returned home over the same trail which they had followed in going south. They passed between Little Klamath and Rhett Lake, which latter is also called Tule and Modoc Lake.

[193] 20, 17. tsúi gé-u, etc. This sentence has to be construed as follows: tsúi gúikaka hú'k lû'gs spunísh gé-u: "hereupon that slave, transferred by me, ran away."

[648] 21, 2 and 3. Bóshtin tpă-ók. This man was an American settler on Lost River, who, with other settlers, had previously attacked one of the Pit River tribes, in punishment for depredations committed. In the fight which took place, some whites were killed by the Pit Rivers, and this prompted the abovementioned settler to slaughter an ox for the Lake men, in order to raise their spirits for deadly revenge on the common enemy. The beef was slaughtered and eaten at his farm.

21, 5. Tsúi nat, etc. This incident was explained to me by Dave Hill, as follows: The famous Captain George was at that time war-chief both of the Klamaths and the Modocs. He had ordered Kiukamtch, the head-man of the Nushaltkága-Modocs, to join the expedition against the Pit Rivers. His refusal to go prompted Dave Hill and others to deprive him of his elk-skin cuirasses; but finally, to secure success to the expedition, the parfleshes were returned to their owners.

[193] 21, 7. Húmasht nat. A verb like gí or shúta has to be supplied.

21, 12. séllaluish, translated here by "war-expedition", still retains its verbal nature; for it is connected with two temporal *adverbs:* lupí' and húnk. More circumstantially the sentence can be rendered: "we rode far beyond the terminal point of our previous raiding campaign."

[193] 21, 18. léwak, a verb composed of two particles. Gétak and kánktak, formed almost in the same manner, are also used as verbs. Below, léwak is separated into its two components by a pronoun: lă năt wák ka-á; lă' năt wák gnldsawiá-a.

21, 19. wéwanani. The terminal -ni turns the wéwanuish into a kind of adjectival phrase. See the peculiar use made of this ending in the Dictionary and in the Grammar.

22, 8. hátaktk. The final k is the verb gí, kl, "said"; tehín hátaktk is: tchí nû hátakt gí.

[302] 22, 21. shatchlyámia is one of the various modes of painting face and body in use among the western Indians. White paint was put on in this manner (see Dictionary) only when the Indians were on the war-path. From the same verbal base is derived

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É-UKSNI SÉLLUAL SÁTAS.

HOW THE LAKE MEN FOUGHT THE SNAKE INDIANS.

GIVEN BY DAVE HILL IN THE KLAMATH LAKE DIALECT.

LUPÍ SÉLLUAL. THE FIRST FIGHT.

Sā't gátpa tiná tû É-uksí; Kóketat släá wéwanuish E-ukskí'sas
Snake Indians went once over to Klamath Marsh; on William-son River they saw females of the Lake tribe

vû'nshatk gépkapsh. Tchúi sákatlank gépka wewanuíshash mák̲'lakuapkst;
in canoes approaching. Then going along the trail they came up (waiting till) the women had gone to their camp;

3 tsúi mák̲'léka wéwanuish, tsúi hátakt gátpa Sā't, tsúi ngä'-isa wéwaläks
then went to camp the women, and near (them) came the Snakes, and wounded the old women

pí'la. Tánkt Ä'-ukskni, húktoks híssuaks gépka, k̲'lewidshápka lúela gíug
only. That time the Lake tribe, (when) those (hostile) men arrived, had gone away for killing

kiä'm.
fish.

6 Tsúi at hushtsóχ hû'nk wewalä'ksas Sā't, tchúi gämpële; tánktak
And massacred those aged females the Snake men, then returned; pretty soon

tchúi Ä'-ukskni híhassuaks gasáktsna. Tsúi mák̲'lëχ hûk Sā't lak̲í Nχítsá-
after this the Lake men pursued. And encamped that Snake chief Dried-

Tsû'ks (nā'sht hû'k sésatk Sā't lak̲í kilû's); tsúi É-ukskni släá mák̲'lëχapks.
Leg (so he was called Snake (the) chief-hero); then the Lake men copied him to be encamped.

9 Tsúi gû'lgi sha, tsúi tí'usna Sā't, tsúi síuka hû'nk Nχítsá-Tsû'ksas Sā'tas
Then charged they, and ran away the Snakes, and they killed him Dried-Leg the Snake

lák̲ias. Tchúi nánka Sā't gämpële, nánχatoks hû'shtchōk.
leader. Upon this some Snake men went home, but others were killed.

Tchí séllual títná Shā'tash. Kpudsámpëli sha hû'nk Sā'tas, tchúi
Thus they fought one time the Snakes. Drove back they those Snakes, and

12 k̲á-itata gátpant Shā't; at vushá É-ukskí'shash.
never again came the Snakes; (for) they feared the Lake tribe.

LÛ'LDATKÍSH BÓSHTINASH TÛ'LA SHENÓTANKA SHÁTASH.

DAVE HILL FIGHTS THE SNAKE INDIANS ON THE SIDE OF THE AMERICANS.

Shiúlka nā'lsh ká-ag Mr. Huntington; Sá-atas t'tpa Moadokí'sh tchish
Collected us long ago Mr. Huntington; the Snakes he brought, the Modocs also,

nā'lsh tchí'sh t'tpa gí'ta, tchúi tchiá nat nā'dsag Tchúi tí'na illólolatk
us likewise he brought here, then lived we in one spot. Then one year elapsed

173 Shā′t gúikak. Hû′k lápi laláḵi: Sā′t ná-as Tchatcháktchaksh ná-asht
*539 the Snakes went away There (were) two chiefs: Snake man one Tchatcháktchaksh so
648 sésatk, nā′sh tchīg: Panaína tchī′ sésatk. Tchúi sō′ldshas shawíga, tsúi
726 named, one (man) besides: Panaina so named. Upon this the military was aroused, and
géna; tû′ Spá-ish Valley gátpa shō′lsash hû′k, tsúi sakemáwank hátokt 3
set out; far off to Surprise Valley marched the soldiers, and rendez-vousing there
mû′lua: lā′p mépoks géna shū′ldshash; nā′sh Lieutenant Oatman ná-asht
got ready; two companies went (of) soldiers; one Lieut. Oatman thus
shéshatk laḵí shû′ldshash, nā′sh tchík Lieutenant Small ná-asht shéshatk
named (was) chief of soldiers, one besides Lieut. Small thus named (was)
laḵí shû′ldshash. Tû′ nat tálaaks yámtītal géna. 6
chief of soldiers. (From) there we straight northwards proceeded.

Tsúi nat é-ushtat géluandsa, tsúi náts shlä′pka Shā′t; kī′lilks shläá;
Then we a lake went around, and us noticed the Snakes; the dust they perceived;
tchúi yaínatal kakólakpka, nánχa é-ushtat gä′-upkapk (Warner Lake, tchí
then Warner Ridge we climbed, some through the lake waded (Warner Lake, so
hûk nā′sh hû′k sésatk é-us). Tchúi Camp Warner máḵ′lĕk tiná nat waíta; 9
that one (was) named lake). Then at Camp Warner camped one we day and night;
tsúi nat guháshktcha tálaat tχalamtī′tal. Tchúi nat telō′lī "Tchéwam
then we started out directly towards west. And we looked down "Antilope's
Stû′", tchíhuk sésatk käíla; tsúi nat lápī gulī′ndsa (skuyû′i natch hû′k
Trail", so this named (is) locality; then two of us went down (into it) (detached us the (two)
laláḵi), tsúi shnä′-uldsha nat. Tchúi nat tälō′li; gälō′la nat k′makuápkuk 12
commanders), and galloped off we. And we scouted; dismounted we to reconnaître
Sátas máḵlaksas, tsúi nat wawápk k′makká nat, tsúi mā′ntsag gī′tk lā′pi
the Snake Indians, and we sat down (and) spied we, then shortly afterwards two
Sā′t tû′kni gepgápĕle: ḵoḵagtálkni gépgap′l′. Tsúi tilō′dshipk nat, tsúi
Snake men from a distance returned: over a rivulet they came back. And saw them coming we, then
tálaak gutī′lapkap′lī nats; tsúi nat wál′hha kawaliä′kuapk sä′-ug. Tchúi 15
towards (us) they descended while rounding a hill us; and we watched (them) they would ascend believing. But
ḵá-i gawaliä′ga, hī′tok tû′ gátpampĕle tchī′-ishtat m′na; nat mā′nts-gī′tk
not they came up, but from there away they returned to camp theirs; we after a while
gä′lapgapĕle shtilshampĕli-uápkuk. Tsúi nat gä′mpĕli, tsúi nā′ts gayá-
rode back to report again. When we came back, (in front) of us had
itsampk shū′ldshash huk, lúpiak nats gälχalgī′pka. 18
advanced the military, before we had fully descended from the hill.

Tsúi tû′-hak náts a gépksī at shlä′pka, tsúi tássuīpk, tsúi ktaítal
Then a long way behind (the soldiers) when we came down they saw (the Snakes), and charged (them), and to the rocks
tī′nshampk Sá-at hûk. Sänótanksi nat sash gátpa, tsúi tû′ shlíkshgan's
scampered off the Snakes At the moment of fighting we them (the soldiers) reached, and nearly shot me
a Sā′t. Tû′taks hûk shō′ldshash nánuk ga-ólĕka kpū′lχuk Sā′tas; li-mī′l- 21
the Snakes. Far up the soldiers all climbed up to dislodge the Snakes; the packer

173 män pī'la yána shláka wátch hû'nk. Tsúi sa senótank; wátch nā'sh hátakt
*539 of army alone below guarded horses (theirs). Now they fought; horse a single over there
baggage
648 tkálamna, tsúi nā'sh É-ukskni shnuktsástkak hû'nk wátch. Tsúi nī
726 stood on a hill, when one Lake man started to catch that horse. And I
3 lewé-ula: "shli-uapkám'sh sha, liukáyank a ī-û'ta!" tchín gī; "huíya!"
tried to dissuade (him): "will shoot you they, lying in ambush they are firing!" so I said; "don't go!"
nā'st nī hémkank: "huíya!" Tsúi géna k̲ī'llikankank, tsúi Sā't hûk téwi
so I spoke: "don't go!" And he went speeding off, and the Snakes at him fired
gatpánkshkshi hû'nk wáts. Tsúi k̲ädsûksaksína lä'k̲shktsa gä'-ish hû'k.
when he had almost reached the horse. And right on the chin took (his) skin off bullet that.
6 Tsúi nat k̲á-i hû'nk snû'kat wátch hûnk; tsúi hûk Sā't tī'nsna kát hû'k
And we not caught horse that; and the Snakes ran away who him
shlī'kshga. Tsúi nat kpû'laktsa tû' atí ga-û'lχa; nánuk hûk Sā't gáktsui
had almost shot. Then we pursued (them and) high up (in the hills) we ascended; all the Snakes went into
walī'shtat, kû'mets hátakt gulī' tû'mi híhassuaks. Tsúi hátokt gī'ank
the rock-cliffs, the caves also there entered many men. And in there staying
9 sawī'ka hûk Sā't, suashuála sa hû'nk ktá-i, tsúi vû'ssa shū'ldshash. At
became angry the Snakes, (and) piled up they rocks, and became afraid the troops. Then
yána tī'lχa sháppäsh, tsúi nat gémpĕle.
downwards inclined the sun, and we returned (to camp).

Káyaktsna shúldshash wéwanuish; u-ī'tsna sha, tsúi nû shläá
Pursued the soldiers women; they marched in front file, then I perceived
12 hissuákshas ktáyat tsutī'la. Mû'ni k̲ä'lo hátakt túya; húnkant tsíg
a man the rocks underneath. A tall juniper-tree there stood below; against it then
ts'hálamnank láyipk lû'luksgīshtka. Tsúi ndé-ulχan shlä-ánk hû'nkt layí-
sitting close he pointed (at me) with his gun. And I let me fall seeing him point-
pakst, tsúi nī sī'ktsaslan wiká; tsúi nī shlī'wal nánuyank tχä'lχa; tchúi
ing, and I crawled aside a little; and I cocked making ready (and) stood up; and
15 nī'sh lés'ma gē'tal tā'ds, láyipk tû'shtal lupī' shlä-ō'lan's. Tsúi nī shlī'n;
me he did not see at that spot, he pointed where at first he had seen me. Then I fired;
pató n shlī'n, tsúi ndéwankā; tsúi nī hō'tχe, tsúi nī pä'n shlín nû'sh
in the cheek I hit (him), and he fell; then I sprang towards (him), and I again shot (him) in the head
sikĕnī'tkstka. Tsúi sō'ldshash tī'ntpa, tsúi nelī'na nû, tsúi kúiχan Sā'tas
with a pistol. Then the soldiers arrived, and scalped I (him), and recognized Snake
18 hú'nk, kándan hû'nk shī'uga. Gitákni hû'k P'laíkni; E-ukskíshash
that, whom I had killed. Hailing he from Sprague River; to a Klamath Lake (woman)
mbushéaltk; ná-asht hû'k shésatk Lápa-K̲íu-gī'tk; tchíhuk shésatk. At
he was married; as he (was) called Two-Rumps having; thus he (was) named. Now
nat nelī'nulank at gémpĕle mak̲'láktsûk, at tī'nnäga. Tsúi nat mák̲'lĕχ;
we having done scalping (him) returned for encamping, and (the sun) was setting. Then we camped;
21 k̲ók̲ag hátakt tû'nsna, saígataks hátokt kī; hû'nkant tchī'k hû'k k̲ok̲ág
a brook there was running by, a prairie right there was; through it then that stream

173 tû'nszantsa yáshalłk. Tchúi kissä'mi shû'dsha Sä't; tû' walí'sh i-utíla
was running studded with willows. Then at nightfall made a fire the Snakes; there the cliffs below
*539
• 648 tû'shtuk kû'mme. Mû' ská tánkt slä'wi; tsúi psín gátpa Sä't i-úta.
726 there (was) a cave. Very cold that time (the wind) blew; and in the night came the Snakes (and) fired.

Tsúi shúldshash vû'ssu, tsúi nat mû'lua, a nat guhuáshktsa, psínak 3
And the soldiers took fright, and we got ready, and we marched, the same night

mû'atan nat géna; nishtá nat géna. Tû' nat yaínatat pä'ktgi, tsû'i nat
southwards we went; the whole night we marched. Far away we in the mountains were at dawn, then we

nt'lka.
stopped there in the early hours.

Lû'luagslash tánkt láplsapt wéwanuish; äná nat hû'nk, tsúi nat pän 6
They enslaved that time seven women; brought we those, then we again

mák̲'lĕɣ Nä'wapksh yámakstan gä'dsa tɣálamna. Tsúi k̲okág hátakt
consumed from Goose Lake north side of a little to the west. And a brook there

tû'nsna; tsúi psín gátpa Sä't, tsúi k̲á-i nat káktant; ní'shta nat k̲á-i
is running; and at night came the Snakes, and not we slept; all night we not

káktant. Tsúi mbúsant pän gátpa Sä't; yaína-ag kúita nats hûk tû'pka, 9
slept. And next morning again came the Snakes; a hillock back of us stood,

tsúi hátakt lí'wal Sä't, tsúi k̲ak̲i''hha shõ'ldshash; atí hû'nk k̲ak̲i''hha.
and there gathered the Snakes, and missed (them) the soldiers; by a long way them they missed.

Tsúi nat watsátka täluak-húya; tsúi gáya-a nä'ts hû'k Sä't. Mbúsant
Then we on horseback rode after them; and were hiding before us the Snakes. In the morning

nat gépgap'lí; at gä'tak Sátas slää, tsúi nat gátpampĕle. Tsúi shû'ldshash 12
we returned; no longer any Snakes found, we, and we went back home. And the military

hû'k shäwána wewán'sh nä'ls hû'nk, Sä'tas wáts tchish lä'p. A nat gat-
gave women to us those, of the Snake tribe horses also two. Then we re-

pámpĕle gí'ta E-uk̲ák̲; hû'ktoks Lieutenant Small tû' shípí'tk Nä'wapksh
turned here to Fort Klamath; but he Lieut. Small over there separated Goose Lake

gunî'gstant gémpaluk Spá-ish Valleytála. Lä'p Sátas wéwanuish ä'na. 15
opposite for returning to Surprise Valley. Two Snake females he took with him.

NOTES.

28. The various bands of Snake Indians inhabiting Oregon east of the Cascade Mountains are gaining their sustenance chiefly by the chase. This accounts for their constant wanderings and ubiquitous presence sometimes at Camp Harney, or the Owyhee and Snake River, at other times near Warner Lake, or the Klamath Marsh.

The date of this raid could not be determined; it may have preceded the fight related below by ten or twenty years.

[222 501] **28, 1.** É-uksi, "to Klamath Marsh"; on Williamson River (K̲óke), which forms the outlet of the Marsh, the Snakes saw women of the Lake tribe crossing or passing down the river in their dug-out canoes, which they use for gathering wókash (the seed of the pond-lily) on the Marsh.

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

173 28, 2. gépkapsh, formed by syllabic elision from gepkápkash; cf. 28, 19.

*539 28, 2. sákatla, to come up, to arrive by the trail.

726 28, 3 and 4. wéwaläks pi'la, the old women only; the younger ones, on whom principally devolves the work of wókash-gathering, found time to escape in their canoes from the raiders.

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222 28, 4. k'lewidshápka. The men had gone fishing to distant places, leaving their females in the camp, not apprehensive of any hostile attack.

192 28, 8. kilō's, or kilû's, is the epithet given to "Dry-Leg", the Snake chief; it means a bold fighter, leader of a fighting band; literally: "irate, wrathful", and may be here taken as an equivalent to "war-chief" (sesaclólish lukî).

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657 28, 13. Moadoki'sh, apocopated for Moadokíshash; also 28, 1: wówannish (wéwan'sh) for wewannishash (shläá gépkapsh). Nā'lsh tchi'sh, *us* also; that is, we of the Klamath Lake tribe, were gathered by Mr. Perit Huntington into one district, the newly established Klamath Reservation. A large number of the Lake People were then scattered about Klamath Marsh, which is visited by them now in summer only for fishing, gathering wókash and berries, and for hunting.

657

175 28, 14. Dave Hill, now interpreter (lúldatkish) at the Klamath Lake Agency, took a part in this short but interesting expedition, in the capacity of an Indian scout. He fixes himself the date of it by the words "tína illolólatko", or a *full* year after the Indians had been gathered on the Reservation by Mr. Perit Huntington. The treaty was concluded on October 14, 1864, and the campaign was undertaken in 1866 by a small body of American troops for the purpose of bringing back to the Reservation a band of Snake Indians who had run away from it. This unruly tribe, jealous of its former independence, has left the Reservation even since then, and could only after much exertion be induced to return. The fights took place west of Warner Lake, and north of the border-line between California and Nevada, within the former haunts of these western Shoshonis.

175 The Report of the Acting Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1867, page 99 sq., mentions this expedition in the following laconic terms: "October 27, 1866, troops consisting of 21 men, First Oregon infantry, and five Indian Klamath scouts, under Lieutenant Oatman, and 27 men, First Oregon cavalry, under Lieutenant Small, had a fight with a band of hostile Snake Indians near Lake Abbott [should read: Abert], in the Klamath country, Southern Oregon. The Indians had so chosen their position that the troops were obliged to dismount to attack them. The fight lasted one and a half hour, and 14 Indians were killed and many wounded."

On page 100 of the same Report, another fight against Snake Indians is spoken of: "Late in November, 1866, in a conflict between the troops and Snake Indians near Fort Klamath, 10 Snake Indians were killed by the troops, and three more by the friendly Klamath and Moadocs who accompanied them." This may have been the same fight as the one above, reported with much less accuracy of detail.

103 29, 3. Spá-ish Valley, name corrupted from Surprise Valley. This valley is situated in the northeastern angle of California, and on the shore of its two alkali lakes several American settlements have sprung up. A few Snake Indians live peaceably around Fort Bidwell, which is located at the northern extremity of the valley.

29, 10. tálaat tzalamti'tal, consonantic assimilation for tálaak tzalamti'tal, due west.

192 29, 17 and 19. nā'ts, natch, for nā'la, nā'lah, nā'lash, *us*; náts a gépksl, for nā'lash a gépkash i.

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

29, 17 and 18. gayá-itsampk. The advance of the troops was ordered in consequence of Hill's report that Snake Indians had been seen by him and his fellow-scout.

29, 19. tû'=hak; hak means: on this side of something or somebody, referring to an object located between the speaker and something more distant.

29, 19 and 20. shlä'pka (for shlä'apka) and tássulpk (for tássui-apk) "they saw and attacked them in Hill's absence"; tínshampk "they scampered off unseen by Hill". If the simplex verbal forms shlä'a, tássui (or táshui), tínshna were used, they would imply that Hill then saw the Snake Indians himself, that he was among the troops charging them, and that he had seen them *in person* scampering off.

30, 3. lewé-ula really means: not to permit, not to allow, to forbid.

30, 3. tchín gi, short for tchí ni gi: "so I said."

30, 5. Instead of gatpánkshkshi could also stand in the text: gatpannápkshi; the final -i being used in a temporal sense in both terms.

30, 8. kû'meta, contr. from kû'mme tchish, or from kû'metat tchish.

30, 9. snashnála, etc. They piled up rocks to serve them as barricades to shoot from behind.

30, 11. u-l'tsna, distributive form of ó-itchna; see Dictionary.

31, 7. Nä'wapksh, etc. Transcribed into the fuller and more explicit grammatic forms, this phrase would read: Nä'wapksh yamakíshtana kétcha tχálamna, "to the northwest of Goose Lake." For Nä'wapksh, Né-napksh, see Dictionary.

31, 13. This campaign terminated in a decided victory over the runaway Snake warriors, but failed to accomplish its real purpose of bringing them back to the Reserve. Nevertheless, these Indians had been severely chastised by losing quite a number of men killed and wounded, and seven women of their tribe captured by the military.

MŌ'DOKNI MÁKLAKS SHÉLLUAL.

THE MODOC WAR.

OBTAINED FROM THE RIDDLE FAMILY IN THE MODOC DIALECT.

Shálam 1869 A. B. Meacham shuashuláliampkish nánuk máklákshash
In the autumn of 1869 A. B. Meacham the superintendent over all Indians

shualaliámpka Tχálamtala; Mōdokí'shăsh hushtánka ne-ulákshgishí Kóke-
kept watch in Oregon; the Modocs he met at the council-ground on Lost

tat wigátan tchussní'nish slánkosh; nûsh snawédshăsh gé-u túla shátĕla 3
River near the Natural Bridge; me wife mine together he hired

lutatkátki.
to be interpreters.

At nā nánuk ne-ulakgishχĕ'ni gátpa; nánuk máklaksh wawápka,
Then we all to council-ground went; the whole tribe was sitting there,

vûní'pni hundred pēn ndā'ni tá-unep pēn vúnip pé-ula hihashuátchχăsh, 6
four hundred besides three tens besides four men,

9: Barker L-5 (1955-1957) 1963
NR10 Klamath NR10

(57) Everything, trout mixed in, even trout were mixed in that. (58) Once they drew it out that way. (59) So the Indians' food was good. 539* 226 [648]

(60) And he had told them that long ago, someone—perhaps Gmokamč —to do thus. (61) Gmokamč helped the Indians. (62) It was never like that long ago, only the river flowed, they say. (63) And they were weak. (64) They were unable to kill fish. (65) And because they were thus, he told them thus, "I will make [something] for you [pl.], where you will kill [fish] every spring." (66) Thus he them, Gmokamč told, long ago. (67) [That] is as I know it, that much.

Introductory Note to Text 27

539* 648

In this text Mrs. Butler describes two incidents dealing with the cruelty of the early white settlers. Various renditions of these stories were also obtained from other informants. The first incident concerns a party of white men, led by a now-famous local figure, who came upon a party of Klamath women picking wokas, and wantonly shot one of them in the face. According to Mrs. Butler, the woman lived, and the scar still showed years later. The second occurrence concerns a group of Rogue River Indians (?) who were hired by a settler to dig a deep trench. Once the trench was dug, the settler and his men opened fire on the Indians and threw their bodies into this ready-made grave. According to Mrs. Butler's text, this incident was one of the sparks which led to the Modoc War. The names of these white men have been omitted from the text for obvious reasons.

The informant also describes the customs of "raiding" and "slavery," as practiced by the Indians of Southern Oregon. She points out that this was a far different thing from the concept of slavery as found in Rome or ancient Egypt or Asia. Many of the children, originally stolen in childhood, grew up among their captors and received good treatment, eventually coming to love their new home more than the old. 539* 567

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 139]

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27. Some Historical Incidents
(Mrs. Aggie Butler)

539*
173
648 •

(1) Now I will tell, something, a little to you [pl.]. (2) We Indians lived in the distant past, and we lived correctly [lit. "well"], not doing anything [bad]. (3) And there were many of us Klamath Indians living everywhere, all along the shores of the Lake.

(4) And once the white men attacked us old ladies gathering wokas. (5) And they almost killed there, shot some. (6) And he was among them—(Proper name)—he, [of] whom the white people are so very proud. (7) He was there with them. (8) And [he?] shot one of the women, in the face, and it showed.

(9) And some did not hide from them, and they left them alone in their winter-houses, living. (10) And the Indians, those Klamath men, were away hunting for some time, and on their returning [the women] told them. (11) And the women [told] them what the white people had done to them, and they almost tracked them, but they did not do anything again, to that white man.

(12) And then the Warmsprings people always used to quarrel with them, and having come, they made slaves, of the Klamaths. (13) And the Klamaths having tracked them, killed some, having taken the women back. (14) So thus the people of the old days always fought wars here. (15) And they [did] the very same way to the Pit River Indians, having gone, the Klamaths, and they enslaved their children too. (16) They raised them, however. (17) And some never went away from them, [for] they loved some of them. (18) They did the same thing to the Paiutes. (19) And they made slaves of the Paiutes also, and they grew up right there, so they live there today, those Paiutes who used to be slaves there.

[926]
[567]

(20) And the white people did evil to the Indians, and once that one called (Proper name), to the Rogue River Indians. (21) And that white man wanted all of them to dig, on his land. (22) And having dug something, then he killed some of them there, and threw them down into that ditch. (23) And he covered them [with] earth, the children too. (24) And one who escaped told of it. (25) And because of being thus at that time, when the Modocs made war [i.e., the Modoc War], then one of the chiefs spoke thus, "Let them not do it to us, as that (Proper name) [did] to the Pit River Indians awhile ago! (26) Perhaps they want to do the same to us. (27) They want to 'speak' to us Modocs in the same fashion."

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 141]

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that Modoc said once. (28) They never forgot it, [their] doing thus, [their] killing the Indians wrongfully [lit. "badly"]. 539* 173

(29) And I have only related little bits of it. (30) But I know a great deal, but I am not telling all of it, however. (31)—How the Indians used to fight amongst themselves, always they fought even among themselves. (32) Even among themselves they enslaved someone's child, and sold it. (33) That much is all I will tell. (34) I have nothing else to tell. 648 [721] [567]

Introductory Note to Text 28

This text is a continuation of the foregoing by Mrs. Butler's sister. Both are part of a recorded conversation about Klamath history in general, and no particular attempt was made to formalize the texts into "stories." When Mrs. Butler had finished her historical narrative above, the topic turned to the Modoc War, and Miss Skellock began to discuss their father's role in that conflict. Rightfully, this text should include the remarks in English which led up to the Klamath portion, and also an explanation and continuation in English which follows it. Limitations of space require that these English parts be edited and abbreviated, however. 124 128

Introductory Remarks in English

"Our father was a scout in the Modoc War. He was with the white soldiers and went to those Lava Beds where the Modocs were." 539* 726 648 173

28. Recollection of the Modoc War
(Miss Irene Skellock)

(1) My father went there, to the battleground. (2) And he was with the white men. (3) And he was a soldier—ah—a "scout." (4) And they were falling on both sides of him, soldiers. (5) And if they shot one, the soldier behind him marched up to the front. (6) However, they never shot him. (7) And he, however, was afraid of seeing (?) those Modoc Indians only. (8) So he lived in fear, thus they said, and some of those Klamath Indians who went with him, they also were afraid. (9) And that's all I'm going to tell [in Klamath].

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 143]

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Concluding Remarks in English

"He said that whenever someone was killed in front of them they had to jump into their place. Oh, he said he sure was scared! He was with those white soldiers fighting the Modocs in the Lava Beds."

Mrs. Butler adds: "He told how they had to go to the war, because they (the white people) told them that they'd take all the Klamath Indians away, if they didn't go. All those who went were related, since they didn't want them to take anybody away. Others, some of them, refused and took their canoes across to Pelican Bay. Some did not want to get into the war. One man, a good shot, said, 'I'm not going. I'm going to die! They can kill me right here. I don't want to go.' But they never took him."

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29. Menstruation Practices
(Mrs. Pansy Ohles)

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(1) When a woman has her menstrual period, she does not come to eat because of menstruation. (2) [She] does not eat with us. (3) [She] does not bathe, does not get wet. (4) [She] will not get chilled. (5) [She] does not feel well, and does not put her hand in water.

30. The Second Coming
(Mrs. Pansy Ohles)

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(1) According to God's promise [lit. "rule"]. (2) All the earth will burn up. (3) And at that time God will return again.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 145]